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STONE REMAINS IN THE SOCIETY ISLANDS

BY
KENNETH P. EMORY

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM
BULLETIN 116

HONOLULU, HAWAII
PUBLISHED BY THE MUSEUM
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Stone Remains in the Society Islands

By

KENNETH P. EMORY

INTRODUCTION

SCOPE

The aim of this work is to make possible an understanding of the various types of stone remains found in the Society Islands and to record precise information concerning their form and construction. The numerous ruins which lie on the points and in the valleys of each island furnish ample material for determining their original appearance.

The results of a preliminary reconnaissance survey of stone structures made by Dr. E. S. C. Handy (29)[1] in the Society Islands in 1923 were turned over to me when, from January 1, 1925, through March, 1926, I undertook a more intensive archaeological investigation. Later, during 1929, 1930, and 1931, Tahiti served as the base of operations of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum Anthropological Expedition to the Tuamotu Archipelago, and as a member of that expedition I was able to take advantage of several opportunities to add to my notes on the Tahitian archaeological remains.

The record of ruins (pp. 56 to 171) reveals the ground covered. The island of Maiao and such large tracts of land as the eastern extremity of Tahiti and the southern and western shores of Raiatea remain quite unexplored. The sites of many historic maraes (shrines and temples) are still to be discovered. Undoubtedly there exist, obscured by undergrowth on the coast or lost in the interior, petroglyphs and ceremonial structures in a better state of preservation than those observed, and capable of yielding new facts of importance in the study of ancient Society Islands culture.

Certain of the marae types are obviously derived one from the other, and their distribution in the archipelago shows the order of their appearance. But distribution by itself tells little concerning the length of time that has elapsed since the advent of a type. The time element is important for the solution of problems of external contacts and ultimate origin. Therefore, in a region where the traditional date of many structures can be learned in terms of the number of generations from the persons responsible for their

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to the bibliography, p. 181.

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erection, the collecting and assembling of traditions and genealogies giving these dates becomes as much a part of their study as the plotting of distribution. The genealogies and traditions bearing on the history of the maraes which I was able to gather would fill a book in themselves. Moreover, they form source material of as great value for the study of the social organization and traditional history of the Society Islands as for the dating of the ruins. So I am presenting them, and my study based on them, in a separate work (25).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I am indebted to Dr. E. S. C. Handy for blazing the way through the Society Islands for an archaeological survey, and putting into my hands his collection of notes and plans.

The opportunity to undertake this survey came in January 1925, while the yacht *Kaimiloa* lay in Papeete harbor after a six weeks' cruise from Honolulu via the Fanning Islands and Tongareva. I was one of a party of six from Bernice P. Bishop Museum, guests of Mr. and Mrs. Medford R. Kellum, owners of the *Kaimiloa*. My wish that I might remain in these islands to carry out an intensive investigation of the ruins was made possible of fulfillment by Mr. and Mrs. Kellum, who most kindly saw to all arrangements necessary.

Throughout my long stay of fifteen months I became acquainted with, and indebted to, almost everyone. Mr. Armstrong Sperry, my voluntary assistant during the cruise of the *Kaimiloa,* remained with me for the first three months. His familiarity with the islands and their people, gained during a residence in 1921, served me in good stead. For the last half of my stay I was assisted on all trips and in all my dealings with the people by Mrs. Emory, whose acquaintance with the region dates from birth. To the many kindly and hospitable natives who received us and cared for our wants as we traveled about the islands, we extend our warm thanks.

In December 1930 and January 1931, I was fortunate in having the company of Mr. H. D. Skinner, New Zealand's leading archaeologist, on an expedition to Meetia Island, and on several important excursions about Tahiti.

No scientist can arrive in Tahiti without being cordially received by the President of the Société des Études Océaniennes or leave without being heavily indebted to this little group who are seriously interested that the world be enlightened in all that concerns their islands. I am especially grateful to Monsieur E. Ahnne and the late Père Emannuel Rougier, guiding spirits of the society, who have given generously of their time, knowledge, and advice.

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STONE CONSTRUCTION

GEOGRAPHICAL DIFFERENCES

In the Windward Islands (Tahiti, Moorea, Meetia), the shaping as well as the fitting of stone attained a degree of excellence matched in Polynesia only by some of the finest examples of workmanship in Raivavae of the Austral Islands, in Tonga, in the Marquesas, and in Easter Island. In this eastern half of the Society archipelago it is the working and fitting of small limestone and tuff blocks and of small vesicular basalt stones which characterize the facings of the more elaborate structures. In the Leeward Islands (Raiatea, Tahaa, Borabora, and Huahine) great slabs of limestone, trimmed square, set on end and placed edge to edge, form the most elaborate facings. As elsewhere in Polynesia, all stone was laid up dry.

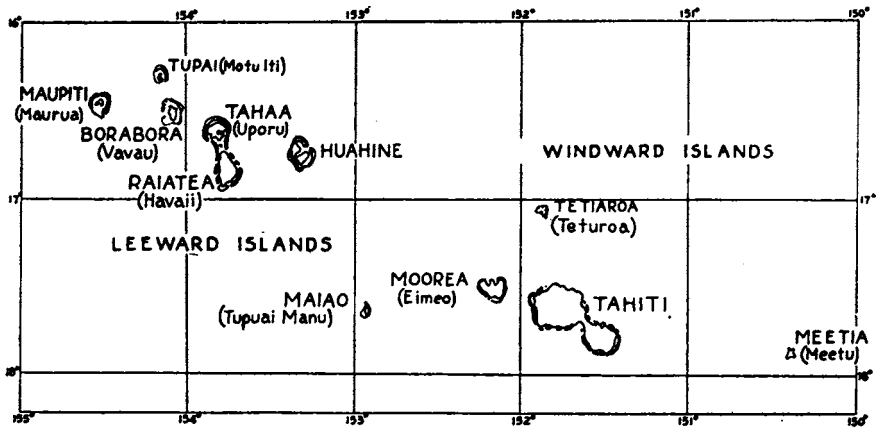

FIGURE 1.—Map of the Society Islands giving the ancient and modern names of the islands.

In no Leeward Islands structure was a worked tuff or basalt stone encountered. On the other hand, nowhere in the Windward Islands was a structure of megalithic limestone slabs observed.

This contrast between the stonework of the Leeward and Windward islands could not have been caused by geographical environment alone, even though a more ready supply of limestone slabs in the Leeward Islands and of river stones in the Windward Islands most probably initiated the difference. The difference in stonework, as it is correlated with marked differences in plan between the ceremonial structures of the two areas, is fundamentally a cultural one.

Sir Joseph Banks, while with Captain Cook on his first voyage (1769), was struck by this difference of stonework, and attempted to account for it as a difference of degree. Banks believed (1, p. 175) that the maraes of

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Tahiti were made more elegant than those of the Leeward Islands to compensate for a lesser antiquity:

> The material of these [the maraes of the Leeward Islands] is rough and coarse, but the stones of which they are composed are immensely large. At Otahite again, where from frequent wars or other accidents many of the most ancient families are extinct, they have tried to make them as elegant and expensive as possible, of which sort is that of Oamo [marae Mahaiatea].

Banks was right in thinking of the beautiful cut-stone facings of the Tahitian maraes as a more recent development, but genealogical evidence reveals that in the Leeward Islands some of the most elaborate maraes were built after the appearance of the cut-stone maraes on the coast of Tahiti. In the rivalry which led to the building of more and more imposing maraes in both areas, the chiefs of each held rigidly to the conventions of the local masons.

FACINGS

Flat Facing and Horizontal-slab Facing

Walls and terraces carelessly faced with rough stones are to be found elsewhere. Such facings (pl. 1, *B*) I need only mention.

The simplest facing into which design and skill enter, the "flat facing," consists of more or less carefully fitted stones of all sizes, having a smooth, flat face showing in the wall. These stones are not laid up in parallel courses. Large stones appear in the upper part of the facing, as well as in the lower part. Some very small stones are inserted in the face while it is being built up, not only to fill in the interstices, but to prop the stones above in their final position. Few of these small stones can be pulled from the wall without first removing the stones above. In this respect these facings differ from those whose interstices have been chinked after the wall was built. I have not observed such superficial chinking in Society Islands walls.

Examples of the flat facing are to be seen in plates 2, *A*, and 3, *A*. The flat facing is extensively used in the Windward Islands and marks the limit of elaboration of the enclosing wall facings of the inland maraes. It is the facing employed in the enclosures of maraes intermediate in type between the inland and coastal type of marae. Some flat facings are finished off at the top with a course of horizontal slabs or flat water-worn, oval stones. (See pls. 2, *B*, and 3, *A*). A coping of this kind was called the *tua* (back) of a wall.

I do not recall seeing exactly this facing in the Leeward Islands. Slabs are used in all construction there and except for the first course are laid up horizontally. A flat side is exposed in the wall, however. To distinguish this facing from the flat facing characteristic of the Windward Islands, I term

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it "horizontal-slab facing." (See pl. 16, *A*.) It is common in the Leeward Islands and represents the simplest of their careful work.

Walls having the above two kinds of facings are vertical. The stone is basalt except in some horizontal-slab facings in which basalt is mixed with limestone or the entire facing is of limestone slabs.

Vertical-slab Facing

A method of facing platforms commonly employed in the Leeward Islands and practically absent in Tahiti was by planting coral-limestone slabs, in some structures basalt slabs, in a vertical position on edge or on end, and setting them edge to edge in a line. (See pl. 17, *B*.)

For obvious reasons, the facing of a wall can have but one course of vertical slabs. Therefore, when height is desired, slabs of the required height must be obtained, or the upper courses must be formed in some other way. In the Leeward Islands, height is increased by upper courses of horizontal slabs, a method common with facings of basalt, but the usual method of heightening a wall is by increasing the height of the vertical slabs. This method, pushed to the limit, results in the megalithic slab facings so prominent in the Leeward Islands. Quite obviously in order that marae Taputapuatea (Site 186) should not be outstripped by the maraes of later date which did not enjoy her prestige, the proprietors of this most renowned Leeward Islands marae had a facing of megalithic slabs added to the original facing of slabs of ordinary size.

The upper edge of a wall of megalithic slabs trimmed only where their side edges meet forms an imposing, jagged outline. (See pl. 12, *B*.) The exposed portion of many of these slabs is 8 to 9 feet above ground; a few range to 10 or 11 feet. The largest measured was 13 feet high (Site 200). Probably another 5 feet should be added to this 13-foot slab to allow for the part buried in the ground. The majority of slabs are greater in height than in width. The greatest width measured (Site 182) is 11 feet. The base of some slabs measures as much as 2.5 feet thick. Basalt slabs are entirely unworked. Just how the limestone slabs were quarried is not known, as no quarries were located. A diligent search round the shores of these islands would doubtless reveal them. The natives have drawn on the ruins of their maraes for their present-day supply of large stone for so long that they have lost the knowledge of how the stones were originally obtained. Over the huge slabs they shake their heads in wonderment.

This much is certain: suitable material was not to be had everywhere, and consequently slabs were brought from distances, more or less great, by canoe or raft. A slab dropped in transport is to be seen in the shallow water opposite Hauviri marae at Opoa, Raiatea. The methods employed by the

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Tongans in quarrying and transporting such great slabs have been described by McKern (44, pp. 5, 6). In all probability the methods employed by the Society Islanders were much the same.

Slabs are embedded in place with the thickest and consequently heaviest edge down. As no excavations were made at maraes I can not say how deeply the bases of great slabs were sometimes buried. Judging from fallen specimens which had not broken off at the base, some slabs 5 to 7 feet high were not planted more than a foot and a half in the ground.

Curb Facing

Some low marae platforms of the Windward Islands are faced with a course of small, relatively long and low slabs of basalt or coral limestone, laid on edge (not on end). These stones I term "curbs." Occasionally one meets with such curbs outlining an *ahu* (platform) of a marae or, in both the Leeward and Windward islands, the area occupied by a house. The unworked curbs rarely exceed 2.5 feet in length or 1.5 feet in height.

Curb and Round-stone Facing

Facings of unworked curbs in the first course and upper courses of unworked round stones selected for their uniformity of size are the same as those in which these elements are worked, except that they do not produce as finished an effect.

Coral Veneer Facing

Peculiar to the inland maraes of the Windward Islands is a coral sheathing or veneering of the front of the *ahu*. Placed against the front of the *ahu* so as partly to conceal the basalt stones which form the *ahu* face is a row of thin pieces of coral (fig. 2, *c*) set on edge. The difficulty of obtaining and transporting limestone slabs for the maraes far in the interior has evidently given rise to this substitution. (See pl. 1, *A*.)

Worked-stone Facing

TRIMMED SLABS

Most vertical slabs of facings are of limestone. Although suitable natural detached slabs may be found, most slabs have been broken or cut out of their stratified beds. They are worked out in approximately rectangular blocks, and the edges of many are trimmed square and flat. There is no problem in fitting one carefully squared slab against another. (See pl. 12, *A*.) I have observed four or five slabs with one edge trimmed concave to receive the curve of an adjoining slab. The top edges of slabs are trimmed square

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in walls where all slabs are of equal height. No sizing of slabs has been observed. I doubt that the exterior of any have received more than the most casual dressing.

CURBS AND BLOCKS

The facing of the *ahu* (platform) of maraes intermediate in type between the coastal and inland Windward Islands maraes is composed of squared coral blocks (observed on Moorea only, pl. 3, *B*) or a first course of squared curbs (slabs on edge) and upper courses of squared blocks (observed on Meetia only, pl. 8, *B*). The curbs and blocks are of red tuff, white coral-limestone, or black pumice stone. All stones of one course are of one color. Adjacent courses of coral or of pumice stones occur.

The faces of several of the tuff curbs on Meetia were dressed after being planted in place, as proved by the projection of the rough buried section beyond the smooth face above ground. In some curbs a right-angled jog was cut in an upper corner to receive an end of a stone in the course above. (See fig. 81, *f*.) In a number of blocks of the upper course jogs have been cut for the same purpose. (See pl. 8, *B*.)

CURBS AND ROUND STONES

Limited to the coastal maraes of Tahiti and Moorea is a type of facing composed of a first course (*niu*) of coral tuff and basalt curbstones mixed, and upper courses of round tuff and basalt stones of even size. I have seen faces of this sort in which there was no cut stone whatever, and faces in which the curbs only were worked. But the majority of the faces of this type are composed entirely or almost entirely of worked stones. The outside face of some enclosures, however, is of dressed stones and the inside face of unworked stones. At the coastal marae at Marae Taata (Tahiti) only one outer face of the enclosure is faced with cut stone.

Likewise, the stepped *ahu* is not in all maraes faced with worked round stones on all four faces. The inner steps of the *ahu* of marae Arahurahu (Paea) are faced almost entirely with natural stones.

The front face of the worked round stones is smoothly and markedly convex. The top and bottom and sides are dressed perfectly flat, so that in transverse cross section the stone is rectangular. Furthermore, all four sides slope toward the inner end, which is left rough. Thus the stone has a wedged or cone shape when removed from the wall. The face of an average worked round stone measures 6 inches broad and 4 inches high; the length is 10 inches; the inner end is 5 inches wide by 3 inches high. (See fig. 2, *a*.) Stones of unusual size, 18 inches wide, 10 inches high, were observed at marae Punaauia (Tahiti). Two of these are now preserved in the Papeete Museum.

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The striking and neat appearance of a wall faced with even rows of these worked round stones is shown in plate 6. Here may be observed the rather careful attention given to bonding, and the fact that some round-faced stones are greater in height than in width. In some walls stones of red tuff are set along at wide but irregular intervals as if for ornamental effect.

The worked round stones which lie scattered about the ruins of coastal maraes look like so many round-faced bricks. Unlike bricks they are all fitted into the wall with their long axis at right angles to the facing.

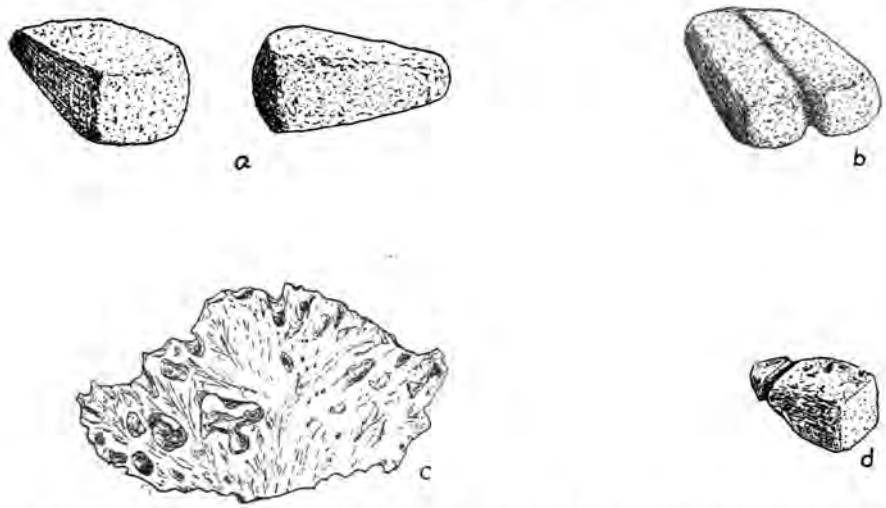

FIGURE 2.—Marae stones: *a*, face and profile of worked round-faced stone of black vesicular basalt from facing of a coastal marae, width of face 6 inches, height 4.5 inches, width of back 4.7 inches, height 3 inches; *b*, double facing stone of gray basalt from a coastal marae, total width of face 8 inches, height 3.5 inches, length of stone 9 inches; *c*, thin piece of coral set against court face of *ahu* of an inland marae, length 15 inches, height 9 inches, thickness 2 inches; *d*, facing stone of coral from *ahu* of a marae on Meetia, inner end grooved, width of face 5.5 inches, height 3.5 inches, length of stone 8 inches.

Most curbs are carefully squared. In the first course of the walls and the foundation of the *ahu* of the marae they are cut out of solid reef coral or out of red tuff, or they are vesicular basalt blocks dressed square. I rarely saw a length of this first course of curbs in which there were not at least one or two coral curbs, nor did I observe any regularity in alternating coral, tuff, and basalt curbs.

The first course of each upper step of the *ahu* is composed entirely of white coral blocks extended in a neat and even band to the basalt or tuff corner stones. (See pl. 5, *A*.) These blocks average 1.5 to 2 feet long by 10 inches high for the height of the exposed part, but Banks (2, p. 102) measured one at Mahaiatea marae, 3.5 feet long by 2.5 feet high. The walls

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having a round-stone facing have also an inner, rough facing averaging 18 inches back of the outer facing. This relieves a great strain from the outer facing, which is only a finish to the wall. The inner facing is now exposed here and there in most walls. (See pl. 4, *A*.) Between the outer and the inner facing is a rather fine fill of earth and small pebbles and stones. The inner ends of the tapering round stones are embedded in this fill.

THE WORKING OF STONE

The worked, round stones of marae facings were shaped by a hammering or pecking process. Stones approaching as closely as possible the desired size and shape must first have been selected. Large and small pick marks may be seen on many specimens. A curious example of two unseparated stones formed out of one is shown in figure 2, *b*. I have seen one other example, also from Moorea. The process of shaping is no different from that employed in shaping stone pounders and sinkers, except that the finishing is not so complete. Whether the hammer or pecking stones were ever hafted is not known. Tuff, coral, and pumice blocks may have been first squared in the rough with blunt stone adzes.

The traditional use of limestone slabs as facing material for the *ahu* (platform) of maraes must have led to the trimming of slabs which did not fit. When the *ahu* in the Windward Islands was heightened, not by increasing the size of the slabs but by the addition of courses of stone, a first course of slabs was not the best of foundations unless the slabs were quite thick; hence the substitution of the thick, low curbs. Curbs could be shaped as readily from coral or tuff as from slabs broken from limestone strata, and tuff and coral might be had with less trouble. From the squaring of tuff and coral of the first course to the squaring of all the stones in the facing, as in the *ahu* of the intermediate maraes of Moorea and Meetia, would have been a natural step.

Many of the *ahu* of the coastal maraes of the Windward Islands were faced simply with upper courses of round stones selected so as to be of one size. The supreme and unique achievement of the Tahitians was the squaring of these stones so that they would fit into the facing as neatly and tightly as the squared curbs. This cut-stone work did not spread to secular structures because there were none of importance on the level coastal plains where the chiefs dwelt.

CORNERS

Care was taken in the construction of corners in the Windward Islands, but in the horizontal slab walls of the Leeward Islands there is no special forming of the corners. (See pl. 16, *A*.) In the vertical-slab walls the slabs

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of the corners are simply overlapped without any regard to order. (See pl. 15, *A*.)

In the Windward Islands even the simplest structures are likely to have a carefully selected basalt stone with two cleavage planes meeting at right angles to form a natural corner. The only stones which were ever dressed in the inland maraes are cornerstones. (See pl. 2, *A*.) The cornerstones of all other maraes are invariably dressed stones or natural stones with an exceptionally perfect corner. Most dressed cornerstones are of tuff; no coral ones were observed.

Responsible for the development of the cornerstone in the coastal maraes is the fact that the round stones of the upper courses of the facing will not make a corner which will stand. Usually a single stone is employed to form a corner (pl. 7, *C*), but rather frequently two and sometimes three or four stones are used, one placed on top of the others. Most cornerstones are wider on one side than on the other. In one marae of intermediate type on Meetia, the two rear cornerstones of the *ahu* project above the height of the wall. This is exceptional. The largest cornerstone on record, 4 feet 7 inches long by 2 feet 4 inches high, is one measured by Banks (2, p. 103) at marae Mahaiatea.

FILL, PAVEMENTS, AND VAULTS

The fill of the *ahu* of the coastal Tahitian maraes and of the Leeward Islands maraes is called the *puo* (pith) of the *ahu*. In most maraes the fill is composed almost, if not quite, entirely of large pieces of coral. Large coral heads of a convenient size for handling and readily obtained on the fringing and barrier reefs supplied most of the material. In the Leeward Islands *ahu* the fill was simply thrown indifferently into the frame made by the upright slabs. Consequently when a slab falls the fill behind it pours out. (See pl. 13, *B*.) The fill did not extend beyond the height of the lowest slabs, and in some *ahu* it would seem that the fill did not reach even half this height.

The fill of some of the larger *ahu* of the Windward Islands maraes was laid up rather carefully in sections faced transversely (fig. 65), and the sides of the fill were invariably roughly faced before the facing of selected or worked stone was laid on.

In front of a number of houses there extended a rectangular pavement of flattish stones from a stream bed. These stones average 0.5 to 1.5 feet long and formed a neat pavement. When marae courts were paved it was with large stones, generally basalt flagstones averaging 1 to 2 feet long. (See pl. 17, *A*; 13, *A*.)

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equently when a slab falls the fill behind it pours out.
fill did not extend beyond the height of the lowest
t would seem that the fill did not reach even half this

the larger *ahu* of the Windward Islands maraes was
n sections faced transversely (fig. 65), and the sides
ɔly roughly faced before the facing of selected or
n.
r of houses there extended a rectangular pavement
stream bed. These stones average 0.5 to 1.5 feet
pavement. When marae courts were paved it was
y basalt flagstones averaging 1 to 2 feet long. (See

The floor of the meeting house at Maupiti was strewn with coral pebble
as were the floors of a number of houses directly on the coast throughout tl
Society Islands. Pavements of water-worn basalt pebbles, so common
Hawaii, were not observed.

Small vaults or cists are occasionally visible at marae ruins, in either tl
ahu or the court pavement. They are rectangular chambers lined with slal
on edge and covered by a course of slabs laid across the width. I saw or
in the top of the upper *ahu* platform of marae Manunu on Huahine, near or
end and at one side (fig. 87). It contained a skull. Another small vault i
the top of an *ahu* was seen at Site 103, Moorea (fig. 73, *d*). Two vaul
large enough to contain burials were recorded. (See fig. 73, *b*, and Sit
174.) It is just possible that these were made in post-European times. On
of these vaults contained a skull and two femurs.

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STRUCTURES

MARAES

Remove the maraes and there would be almost no ancient construction of stone in the Society Islands except terraces and house sites on steep or rough ground in the interior of the islands. On the flat coastal plains there would remain a few low boundary walls, an occasional enclosure, and a few house sites outlined by pavements and stones laid on edge. Worked stone is confined to the facings of the low enclosing walls, the terraces, and the platforms of maraes. It is the marae which is of first concern, therefore, to the archaeologist.

The marae is a place set aside for religious rites and ceremonies. It is marked by upright stones and usually also by a rectangular stone platform which stands at one end of the rectangular court indicated by a level pavement or by a stone-walled enclosure. (See figs. 3-10.)

Terminology

The parts of a marae are, in native terminology, as follows:

Aho, upright stones on marae court serving as supports for dummy priests.
Ahu, stone platform at end of court—principal feature of the marae.
Ahu-arii, raised pavement on which the chief was inaugurated, probably the *avaa*.
Ahu-mua, outer face of the *ahu*.
Ahu-ta'a, probably another name for *ahu-arii*.
Avaa, small platform against face of *ahu*, on which idols were placed in their house; defined by Davies (15) as "the space between the sides of the marae."
Faoa-tu-marae, "an upright stone in the marae against which the priest leaned" (15).
Haai, stone backrest of first-born, situated midway between the sides of a marae.
Hoho, the courtyard of the marae.
Mahora, the court of the marae (Maupiti).
Niho-marae, "a stone placed in a certain way in the wall of a marae" (15).
Ofa'i faoa, or haoa, "a stone taken from an old marae to establish a new one" (15).
Paepae, the court pavement.
Patu-hamuri, the wall of a marae opposite the *ahu*.
Ripoa-marae, "the corner or joining of a marae wall" (15).
Roi-i-te-moemoe-ora-vaa, the *avaa*.
Romatane, "name of a stone set up in a marae and dressed with sweet-scented flowers" (15); image of Romatane.
Tahua-rau-ava, probably the floor of the court; "a principal part of the marae" (15).
Tapa'au, plaited coconut leaf placed on the *aho* and representing a priest.
Tarahu, backrest to the left and right of the *haai*, for those following the first-born.
Tihi-rahi, "a large cornerstone in a marae" (15).
Tiriapera (Rubbish-thrown), refuse pit or rubbish heap of a marae.
Tu-ahu, the *ahu*—"the name of part of the marae" (15).
Turu'i, stone backrest.
Tu-ruma, sacred refuse heap.
Tuturi, stone backrest; same as *turu'i*.
Unu, carved slab uprights of wood.

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Parts of the Marae

AHU

The focal point of a marae is the stone platform (*ahu* or *tu-ahu*) at one end of the court. By Europeans this has often been called the altar because of its resemblance to our altars. But the sacrificial offerings of food were never laid here. They were placed on the large wooden platform (*fata-rau*) or on small tables (*fata-'ai'ai*) set up on the court.

Some confusion has resulted from historical reference to the platform (*ahu*) of the marae as if it were the marae, whereas it is only a part of the marae. Notice the clear distinction made by the natives themselves in this line of a chant received from a high priest in 1840 (32, p. 398): "E ahu tapu haehaa tei te marae o Tetumu, e ahu teitei to te marae o Tane" (A low sacred *ahu* was that at the marae of Tetumu, a high *ahu* at the marae of Tane).

The *ahu* was reserved for the gods. At dedication a chief might walk along the top of an *ahu* (32, p. 138), but during ceremonies no one seems to have mounted it or stood upon it except the idol carriers and the priest possessed by the god (7, p. 47), and possibly the chief when he impersonated the tutelar god. Webber's drawing (pl. 9) and Captain Cook's and Captain King's descriptions (13, vol. 3, pp. 31-45, 66-68) show that the bundles containing sennit images of the tutelar gods and the sacred feather girdle were placed on or against the *ahu* during ceremonies.

There is nowhere a description of a priest or chief taking food on the *ahu*. If this ever happened it would have been by someone acting as the representative of a god. Davies (15) lists a curious term, *ai-ahu* (*ahu*-eaters), and defines it as "one who eats on," or "to eat food on the *ahu*, or high and privileged place in the marae." The food may have been eaten "before" the *ahu*, for Davies interprets *noho-ahu* (*ahu*-dwellers) as "the name given to the *tamanu* trees before the marae; also to the priests who officiated at the marae."

UNU

Davies (15) defines *unu* as a piece of carved wood put up in the marae upon the offering up of a man. If all *unu* were erected only on these occasions they would be confined to maraes where human sacrifices were offered, but they are to be found at other maraes. Ellis (17, vol. 3, p. 112) says that the *unu* were erected in honor of departed chiefs whose bones had been deposited at the marae.

Carved *unu* boards were ranged along the back of the *ahu* as well as here and there on the court. They are depicted more or less faithfully along the rear edge of the *ahu* of two maraes of the inland Tahitian type in plates 9 and 10, *B*. One of the Leeward Islands type is shown in plate 10, *A*.

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Parkinson (46, pl. 10) gives a sketch of marae Taputapuatea, Opoa, Raiatea (Site 186)[2] in which the *unu* along the back of the *ahu* are decorated up their sides with bunches of feathers. Henry (32, p. 159) speaks of their being decorated with strips of tapa and matting, and records (32, p. 134) that they were 6 to 7 feet high, about 10 inches wide, and 2 inches thick, and painted over with red ocher. They served as holders on which to attach the property of the gods (feathers, strips of tapa) and were considered imposing. Their presence on the marae was called *ra'a unu* or *ra'a tiitii* (*ra'a,* "sacredness"). They were also referred to as *hui tapairu* (host of waiting maids).

Captain Bligh in 1792 (36, pp. 90-91) saw "about 14" *unu* with carvings, some resembling a man, others a bird, on the top of the 14-foot *ahu* of marae Taputapuatea in Pare District, Tahiti (Site 4).

The Spaniards observed in 1775 (14, vol. 2, p. 328) that the summits of the *ahu* were nicely leveled and that on them were kept certain rude figures called *tii* (i.e., *unu*). They saw along the back of the *ahu* of the royal marae Vaitoaha at Tautira (14, vol. 2, p. 209) "three pretty high posts elaborately carved, one broader than the others: on this broadest one there were five women rudely sculptured, nude and obscene. On the other two posts there were carved heads and portions of what seemed to be men's bodies." At Meetia Island they noticed (14, vol. 1, p. 296) that among the characters carved on the *unu* of one of the maraes a "small dog was preeminent in every case."

STONE UPRIGHTS

On the summits of the Tahitian *ahu* of dressed-stone steps no stone uprights were discovered, but along the back of a number of the simple platform *ahu* of the inland maraes were three stone uprights. The others had a single upright placed midway between the ends. Is it possible that the three *unu* planks which the Spaniards saw at Vaiotaha marae, Tautira, mark the substitution of these boards for the stone uprights of the simpler maraes? I believe, rather, that these *unu* decorations have displaced the stone uprights.

The stone slabs standing on the *ahu* of the inland Tahitian maraes are not mentioned by any of the early writers, but they do not differ in appearance from backrests on the courts of all maraes. If the *ahu* uprights served as backrests they must have been reserved for the gods. Henry (32, p. 135) mentions certain upright stones called *ofa'i-manava-arii* (memorial stones for departed chiefs). These must have been honorary seats, but according to her description they were placed in a row in front of the *ahu,* and also, if there were many of them, along the sides of the court.

[2] Archaeological sites are described, pp. 56 to 171.

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In the London Missionary Collection now in the British Museum is a stone slab 20 inches long, "worshipped by the royal family of Tahiti when at the southern part of the island of Eimeo." I would not be surprised to find that this was taken from the back of an *ahu* of a small marae, for the stones similarly situated on the *ahu* of Tuamotuan maraes have been pointed out to foreigners as *ofa'i ti'i* (idols) by the natives and foreigners have interpreted them as idols without questioning the natives. That gods of the marae were supposed to occupy the positions marked by these *ahu* uprights is altogether likely, but sennit images or images carved in wood or stone represented the gods. It would be instructive to know the original position, or the position during rites, of the small, crude, stone *ti'i* images which have been found at so many maraes. One discovered by Handy lay outside of the marae a few feet from the court enclosure (Site 103, *g*). Some of the stone *ti'i* stood in the capacity of guardian images at the boundaries of the precincts of the marae (32, p. 173).

The stone seats, or backrests, at maraes were called in general *ofa'i tuturi raa,* or *ofa'i turu'i raa,* or simply *tuturi* or *turu'i,* either of which words, in verbal form, means "to lean upon or against." Wilson (58, p. 208) saw a demonstration of the position of a priest at his *tuturi* when calling upon the gods:

> . . . he then went a few yards back [from the *ahu*] and laying hold of an upright stone, like a gravestone, he knelt with one knee, and looking upward began to call on the Eatooa [*atua*] by crying, "Whoo, whooo", and by afterwards making a whistling noise, intimated it to be the way in which the Eatooa answered them.

On other occasions uprights served as backrests for priests or chiefs seated during a ceremony. In the great *pa'i-atua* (assembly of gods) ceremony, a description of which was given Orsmond by Pomare II and the priests generally (32, p. 162), the priests at one stage of the proceedings stood by their *tuturi,* faced the *ahu,* and held up their hands while they chanted a marae blessing. They knelt on the right knee, placing the left foot upon the paving, while chanting a preliminary invocation. Following this, they sat down cross-legged upon the pavement. The Spaniard, Andia Y. Varela (14, vol. 2, p. 260), has left a clarifying statement regarding the stone uprights at maraes:

> [They] do duty as leaning stocks when those who meet together for their religious ceremonies sit down at these spots; but only the Epure [priests] and the arii and his brother do sit down there, and although some of these stones remain vacant they pertain to the deceased fathers and ancestors of these [personages] and nobody may seat himself against them.

Ranged along in front of the *ahu* of the Windward Islands maraes, and perhaps of Leeward Islands maraes also, stand three uprights. Those of the

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inland maraes of Tahiti are no larger than the others at the marae, but those at the coastal maraes are by far the largest of the stone uprights. Are these the *ofa'i manava arii* (memorials of departed chiefs) mentioned by Henry (32, p. 135)? They occupy the position described by her, but she is giving her description of the parts of a marae from some document of her grandfather Orsmond which she is translating, and due to her imperfect acquaintance with maraes she has made some obviously serious errors of location and description. We must have some corroboration to be sure she has not made an error here.

I infer from the number of these uprights that they marked the first three positions of honor, either for those in whose memory they were erected, their descendants, or the representatives of the first three ranking gods attending services at the marae. A stone backrest (*haai*) was placed on the marae court for the first-born of the arii family who owned the marae. To the right and left of the *haai* were stone seats (*tarahu,* or *terahu*) for the others following the first-born. The *haai* stood opposite the midpoint of the *ahu* (29, p. 86). In one marae at least, the second- and third-born occupied respectively the first and second *tarahu* on the right and the fourth- and fifth-born, respectively the first and second *tarahu* on the left (29, p. 86; 25, genealogy 3, generation 24).

At Maupiti, Handy (29, p. 105) was told that the *iato* was the backrest of the second-born and stood on the left of the *haai;* that the *tarahu* was the backrest of the third-born and stood on the right of the *haai.* If by any chance the *haai,* the *iato,* and the *tarahu* were the three slabs against the face of the *ahu,* then the second position of honor may have been to the right of the one sitting at the *haai,* and the third position to the left. Handy says the contrary, but as viewed from the court the left and right positions would be reversed. To me this is an indication that the *haai* and *tarahu* were the stones against the face of the *ahu,* for the rule in Polynesia seems to have been the same as among us—the first position of honor was to the right, the second to the left. But if the *haai* and *tarahu* were here, where were the *ofa'i manava arii,* supposed to occupy this position? It is possible that the *haai* and *tarahu* were also *ofa'i manava arii;* this may be the reason why Henry does not mention *haai* and *tarahu.* The three stones along the face of the marae (pl. 9) at which Captain Cook (13, vol. 2, pp. 31-45) witnessed the *matea* (awakening of gods) and the *pure arii* (empowering of chief) rites were evidently not occupied by anyone during the ceremonies and so may be regarded as memorials or seats of honor reserved for others than the living, or occupied by the living only when acting for their ancestors.

When the messenger gods (called *aitu,* and represented by sennit images) were brought forth in the great *pa'i atua* ceremony preparatory to being cere-

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monially bathed and then dispatched for the gods invited to the service, they were "set in order upon the stone paving next to the front row of kneeling stones" (32, p. 161). Whether by "front row of kneeling stones" the row of three stones along the face of the *ahu* or the first row of uprights out on the court is meant, the messenger gods would be facing the three uprights in front of the *ahu*. It would seem, then, that these uprights were to be occupied by gods invited to the marae.

The image of the tutelar god, occupying the *avaa*, would be directly in front of the middle of the three uprights. During the *pa'i atua* ceremony at Huahine the district gods were placed on the right hand and on the left hand of the tutelar gods (56, vol. 1, p. 268). They would therefore be opposite any uprights to the left or right of the central one.

These facts would not preclude the central stone as being the *haai*, occupied by the first-born, for he was the most direct descendant of the tutelar god and on occasions, as when donning the *maro ura*, served in the capacity of the living representative of the god.

The backrest midway between the sides of the marae court and near its center is as constant a feature as the three uprights along the front of the *ahu*, and surely had a name. In a number of maraes a pair of uprights occupies this position. (See fig. 3, *c*.) From this fact, I once assumed that the single stone or this pair were the *pu-arii* (32, p. 139) or the *pu-maro-ura*, described by Henry as two stones placed side by side on the court, one representing the king, the other the queen, at "one or the other of which, as the case might be, the new sovereign was seated in concluding the ceremonies of his or her inauguration" (32, p. 134). But when Captain King saw Pomare I gird himself with the *maro ura* in the rite called *taumi-i-te-hau* (making solid the government) (32, pp. 314-315), a rite which closely parallels the inauguration rite, Pomare stood upon the *ahu* or immediately in front of it (13, vol. 2, pp. 66-68). Ellis (17. vol. 3, p. 112) writes that the king at inauguration was placed "upon the elevated stone platform [at the marae] in the midst of the unu." This is certainly the *ahu*, or the platform called *avaa* placed against its court face. I am therefore inclined to regard *pu-arii*, and *pu-maro-ura* (source-of-the-chiefs, source-of-the-*maro-ura*) as other terms for the central upright along the front of the *ahu*. However, the great coronation stone called Te-papa-tea-o-ruea at Hauviri marae, next to Taputapuatea, stood out on the court, but when the ceremony was performed over again at Taputapuatea marae the chief undoubtedly stood on the stone platform (*avaa*) directly in front of the *ahu*, for Ellis says the images of Oro and of Hiro were then placed beside him (17, vol. 3, p. 112). These images were customarily placed on the *avaa*. The coronation stone of the Raiatean kings at Hauviri marae is, perhaps, exceptional. It does not occupy the center

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of the court of Hauviri, and it has a low platform on the face opposite the *ahu,* so that it may have been an independent structure.

What, then, was the upright or pair of uprights out on the marae court? In the Tuamotus a single upright standing opposite the midpoint of the *ahu* and towards the far end of the court was the ordinary seat of the chief. It was called the *tara,* and this *tara* had a little stone platform seat against the face towards the *ahu.* In this word *tara* we may see a variant of the Tahitian *tarahu* (? *tara-ahu,* spur of the *ahu*), the Tahitian name of the uprights to the left or right of the *haai.* This opens the possibility that the Tahitian equivalent of the Tuamotuan *tara* was called the *haai.* But in neither Tahiti nor the Tuamotus did this central upright have a stone on each side. In the Tuamotus the chief, at the time when he was presented his insignia of rank at the marae, occupied the central of the three stone seats along the front of the *ahu,* and this apparently was the station of the Tahitian chief when invested with his sacred regalia. So both the central backrest in front of the *ahu* and the central one out on the court seem to have been seats for the head chief, the one at the *ahu* occupied when the chief acted as the representative of the god, the one out on the court occupied at other times. But what the seat out on the court was called in Tahiti, if it had a specific name beyond "the backrest of the chief," I have not been able to learn.

One other term besides those mentioned was applied to certain of the court uprights. This is *aho* (*'aho*?), described by Davies (15) as "a certain stone set up in a marae where the priest stationed his *tapa'au,* or coconut leaves twisted so as rudely to represent a man." Henry (32, p. 134) locates them somewhere out in front of the *ahu* and calls them *vaira'a tapa'au* (holders of the *tapa'au*), and the uprights and coconut leaf figures combined, the *aho* (life) of the marae. But in the ancient chant of Taaroa exalting Tane (32, p. 199), *aho* means simply the stones: "E aho iti tei ia Tetumu no te tapa'au i to'na marae" (Tetumu has a few stone uprights for the *tapa'au* of his marae). Therefore *aho* is perhaps *'aho* and equivalent to the Hawaiian *'eho* (stone set up as a monument, or row of stones representing gods), to the Marquesan *keho* (a stone backrest), and the Tuamotuan *keho* (any marae stone upright). It has been my guess that the row of three little uprights opposite the *ahu* in marae Tepo (fig. 63) and marae Titiroa (fig. 70), both on Moorea, were *aho.*

One would suppose that the term *niho-marae* (marae tooth) referred to some upright, but Davies (15) defines it as "a stone placed in a certain way in the wall of a marae." The only uprights placed in a wall are the *ahu* uprights of inland Tahitian maraes and seats on the enclosing wall of marae Matairea at Maeva, Huahine.

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AVAA

The *avaa,* the full name of which undoubtedly was *roi-i-te-moemoe-o-ravaa* (or *-ura-avaa?*), given by Davies (15) as "a bed for a god," was placed against the court face of the *ahu* midway between the ends and was called the *vahi-mo'a-roa* (most holy part). This feature, as a platform 1.5 feet high, may be seen at marae Manunu (fig. 87, *c*), Huahine, where Tyerman (56, vol. 1, pp. 266-268) had it pointed out to him as the "bed of [god] Tane," and was told:

> Tane [on the occasion of the *pa'i atua* ceremony] was laid on the middle of his bed, having the gods of four districts placed on his right hand, and the gods of four other districts, into which the island was divided, on his left. The chiefs stood in rows opposite their own divinities, and the priests around Tane, as lord over them all.

Beneath a flagstone in the *avaa,* says Henry (32, p. 133), was a repository in which were placed the discarded coverings of the tutelar god which were regarded as too sacred to be taken elsewhere. In the *avaa* at marae Manunu is a rectangular, stone-lined cist, now open, in which, I understand, an aged native named Raiti was buried in 1915. This is probably the sacred repository mentioned by Henry.

The *avaa* of marae Matairea-rahi (Site 133) is much smaller than that of marae Manunu. It measures 6 feet long and 4 feet wide and fits exactly Henry's dimensions, but she describes the structure as an "enclosure . . . in which was placed the image of the tutelar god when it was carried into the marae in its little ark." In Parkinson's drawing (46, pl. 10) the ark is placed on the *avaa* against the court face of Taputapuatea marae (see fig. 96). Henry is not only mistaken in calling the *avaa* an enclosure, but in placing it "upon the paving of the summit [of the *ahu*] towards the front of the marae."

Henry (32, p. 133) speaks of an *avaa-iti* to the right of the *avaa-rahi* and "in the corner of the wall" as "a small chamber of stone slabs," and adds: "Here were kept an image of a whale. . . . , of the . . . blue shark . . . ; wooden images of tropic birds were placed around it." This is probably the little platform to the right of the *avaa* of Manunu marae (fig. 87, *d*), which seems to be mentioned by Tyerman when he says (56, p. 266):

> Hard by [the bed of Tane—the *avaa*] is another and lesser enclosure, not more than half the dimensions of Tane's bed, yet large enough to hold all the gods besides that belonging to this celebrated grove and temple.

At many of the inland maraes of Tahiti, to the right of the *ahu,* lies a small platform with an upright at the back. (See fig. 3, *c*.) Is this the *avaa,* or *avaa-iti* of these maraes? No *avaa-rahi* such as were seen in the Leeward Islands were observed at the Windward Islands maraes, but as they were

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not being searched for at the time they could easily have escaped observation owing to the general disruption of the floors of marae courts.

Davies (15) defines *ahu-arii* as "a raised pavement in a marae on which the king was placed and inaugurated with various ceremonies." As the king was stationed with the idol of Oro and Hiro during the inauguration ceremonies at Taputapuatea marae, Raiatea, the "elevated stone platform" on which he and they were placed (17, vol. 3, p. 112), was probably the *avaa.*

Captain Cook speaks of "a kind of platform at one side" of the *ahu* (13, vol. 2, p. 41) at the marae in Atehuru. This platform is probably the *avaa,* and the "grave" mentioned by Captain King (13, vol. 2, pp. 66-67) as the spot where Pomare stood when he donned the *maro ura*:

> The ceremony began by the principal priests bringing out the *maro*. . . . These were placed at the head of what I understood to be a grave. Then three priests came and sat down opposite, that is at the other end of the grave. . . . Otoo [Pomare I] rose up and wrapped it [the *maro ura*] about him. . . . He stood in the middle of the space facing the three priests. . . . The company now moved to the opposite side of the great pile of stones [the *ahu,* figs. 29, *k;* 11]. . .

In Webber's picture (pl. 9) the bundle containing the *maro ura* and the one containing the image of Oro lie on the front of the *ahu,* but Cook says they were placed "against" it. In any event, Pomare was stationed in front of the bundles and hence before the central of the three uprights along the front of the *ahu.* This is where the *avaa* would be, if there was an *avaa.* Although Webber does not show a "raised pavement" here, he was not present when King saw Pomare occupy the space and may not have noticed it.

Ahu-arii would seem to be a term applied to the *avaa* when mounted by a chief, and *ahu-ta'a* (jawbone-of-the-*ahu*) another term for it met with in Tahitian chants (32, p. 191): "*Ua ura tini i te ahu-ta'a* (Myriads of *ura* feathers at the *ahu-ta'a*)." Henry believes this refers to the *ahu* proper, decorated with jawbones and skulls, where the feathers were kept, but the following line (32, p. 135) seems to describe an *ahu* which was a jaw-like appendage: "Te ahu marae nei i te tahatai ra i te aratia e auae ia, te papai noa mai ra a tau e a hiti noa'tu" (The *ahu* here towards the beach, or towards the road, is a jawbone challenging on for ever and ever). Of particular interest in this connection is the fact that at Reao in the Tuamotus the *ahu-taga* (jawbone-of-the-*ahu*) of a marae is a little detached platform out on the court opposite the midpoint of the *ahu* and therefore occupying the position of the chief's seat (*tara*) in the maraes of the western Tuamotus.

COURT

The marae court was called a *hoho*—"O Taputapuatea te marae hoho roa" (Taputapuatea is the temple with a long courtyard)—doubtless on account of the act of *hoho atua* (calling of the gods) (32, p. 165) which took

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place here. The pavement of a court was called the *paepae*. It is probable that the floor of the marae court, like the floor of a house, was called a *tahua,* for Davies (15) gives *tahua-rau-ava* as "a principal part of the marae." The enclosing walls of a marae were called *pa,* or *patu*; the long sides, *rau-roa*; the short sides or the side opposite the *ahu, rau-poto.* This wall opposite the *ahu* was also termed *patu-hamuri* (rear wall), and *opani* (closure). The end wall served at least as a bench for the common worshipers (*opure*), for the term *patu-haamori-roa* (wall for worshiping) is applied to it (32, p. 134). The inner corners of the court enclosure were called *peho* (corners) and the other corners, *ripoa-marae* (marae vortexes).

CORNERSTONES

One outer cornerstone of the *ahu,* according to Henry (32, p. 132), was called *ofa'i faoa* or *haoa,* and the other *ti'a-va*; the two together were the *tihi-marae* (marae horns). The outer face of the wall (of the *ahu*) between the *tihi* was called the *ahu-mua* (32, p. 135). The laying of the *ofa'i faoa* (cornerstone) of the marae was accompanied by dedication ceremonies requiring a human sacrifice in royal maraes (32, p. 132). Davies (15) says that *fao,* or *hao,* is "to dedicate a new marae, house, or canoe;" *haoa* is "a stone taken from an old marae to commence a new one in another place;" *tia-va* is "the top, *tiau,* or head stone of a corner."

As Davies (15) says, a *faoa-tu-marae* is "an upright stone in a marae against which the priest leaned while praying." I believe Henry may be wrong in interpreting the *ofa'i faoa* (founding stone) as the cornerstone of the enclosure. In some of the traditional accounts of the founding of new maraes, chiefs take their stone backrests in the old family marae to found the new marae (25).

TREES AND REFUSE PITS

The trees growing at a marae, called *noho-ahu* (*ahu* dwellers), were regarded as the shadows of gods and spirits. From their branches were made idols (32, p. 382). The *toa* was sacred to Oro, the *miro* to Roo-te-roroo, who inspired the priests in their devotion. The *miro,* consequently, was held indispensable as a tree for the marae (32, p. 382). The *pua* was sacred to Tane and the *tou, tamanu* (*ati* or *mo'i*), *atae, puupuu,* and *hotu-reva* to all other gods.

In the immediate vicinity of the marae was the sacred refuse pit called *tiria-pera* (cast-off-refuse), or *tu-ruma.*

TYPES

Most marae ruins in the Society Islands fall into one or the other of three clearly definable types. These types are basically related, but each has a distribution almost exclusive of the others.

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INLAND TAHITIAN MARAE

All except three or four of the inland marae ruins of Tahiti and Moorea, of which more than 70 were observed, consist of a low rectangular platform (*ahu*) at one end of a rectangular court which is either a platform, a terrace, or a low enclosure, or a combination of these. One or three upright stones stand on the rear of the *ahu*, and three uprights against the face of the *ahu*. Out on the court in line with the middle of the *ahu* stands a single upright, or a pair of uprights. Others may stand to the left and right, nearer the *ahu* or farther from it.

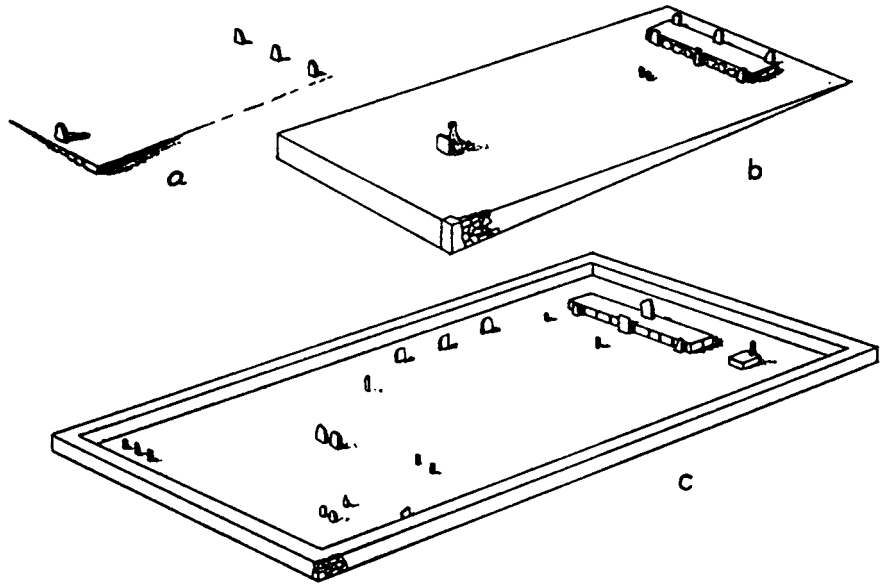

FIGURE 3.—Tahitian inland marae: *a*, simple shrine without *ahu* (Site 9); *b*, marae with three uprights on *ahu* as well as three along face, thin sheets of coral laid against court face, sketch based on a large number of maraes whose courts average 25 feet in width, 50 feet in length; *c*, marae with one monument on *ahu* but the invariable three along face, which is a row of limestone slabs on edge, small platform with single upright at right of *ahu*, court enclosed by low wall, sketch based on a number of the largest inland maraes.

The maraes which I have designated as belonging to the inland type are found at all the inland village sites which we visited on Tahiti and Moorea. They occur also at the back of some coastal villages, as on the plateau overlooking Papenoo Village, on the slopes back of Taravao, and at the mouth of the valley which opens onto marae Matahihae, Teahuupoo District. The type also appears directly on the shore, though rarely. These small maraes are of course more easily destroyed and obliterated than the large, elaborate coastal maraes.

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The inland maraes are situated inconspicuously among or near dwelling sites. It is not uncommon to find a pair of maraes of nearly equal size or maraes having one or two tiny maraes or shrines adjoining them. On the edge of Tetamanu Plateau are nine full-sized maraes arranged in four groups, all within sight of each other, at what might be called an isolated or secluded spot. The few house sites in the immediate neighborhood may have been solely for the use of priests and attendants.

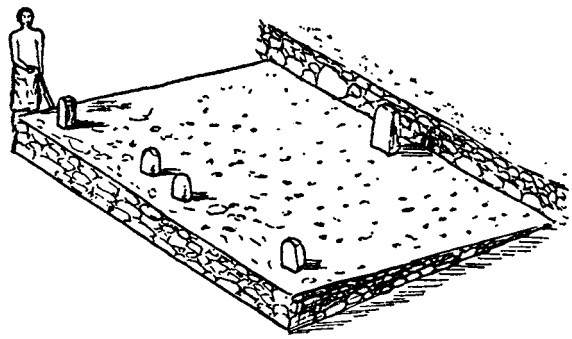

FIGURE 4.—Simple Tahitian shrine (?) in Papenoo Valley (Site 68), upright stones on a small terrace placed against a large house terrace.

One marae on Tetamanu Plateau, Punaruu Valley (Site 18, no. 3) is joined to the side of a large, well-made enclosure measuring 106 feet long and 40 to 55 feet broad. The wall of one end of this enclosure is carefully faced and paved along the top, which is 5 feet wide (pl. 2, *B*); it is finished off with straight corners of squared stone. As the floor of this enclosure was clear of brush, we could examine it perfectly. The wall was high enough to exclude cattle and pigs, and the floor was practically undisturbed except by the few hau trees growing on it. There is clearly no trace of an *ahu* or of uprights, hence I am certain it was not a marae. I believe it to have been a public assembly place like the *tohua* of the Marquesas—the principal spectators sitting on the elaborated wall, or platform, closing one end. Adjoining the Marquesan *tohua* was a sacred place called the *me'ae* or *ahu*.

In Papenoo Valley at a place called Putoura, a stone-faced terrace 64 feet long and by 24 to 30 feet broad is joined to a small marae (Site 75). This bears a single median upright slab, but no trace of an *ahu*, and may therefore simply be a festival place. Although many maraes seem to be entirely detached and isolated from large enclosures or platforms that might be considered non-sacred tribal gathering places, others are near or actually attached to them. Separated 20 feet from a pair of maraes on Tetamanu Plateau is a great terrace along the front edge of which is arranged a row of five slab backrests. (Site 18, no. 2.)

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The *ahu* is lacking in some of the smallest of the inland maraes or shrines (figs. 3, 4); in other small ones it is merely a single course of stones outlining a rectangle. But all inland maraes of any size have an *ahu* consisting of a rectangular platform averaging 1.5 feet high, with a range in height from 6 inches to 3 feet. The width is from 2.5 to 8 feet but averages 3 to 4 feet; the length is from 10 to 30 feet but averages 14 feet. The facing of nearly all *ahu* consists of a single course of unworked stones. The fill is of dirt or small stones, or both. Basalt columns laid on end constitute a typical frame for the *ahu*. It is probable that all *ahu* of basalt facing had the front (the face on the court side) ornamented by thin pieces of coral placed on edge in a line against this face. In most of the maraes where this coral veneer was not observed wholly or partly in place a few thin coral fragments were found scattered before the *ahu*. Seven of the nine maraes of inland type observed on the coast have *ahu* faced with low limestone slabs or curbs set on edge.

The *ahu* stands at one end of the rectangular court, and in most inland maraes several feet from this end. It does not reach across the width of the court. On many courts it is placed nearer the left side. At most maraes with this characteristic, a low rectangular platform occupies the wider space on the right side of the *ahu*. This little platform lies with its long axis at right angles to the *ahu* and bears a single rear upright.

The court is rectangular or quadrangular, without exception, if it is marked in any way, as by a pavement or enclosing wall. No court has been found to be square. The width of the majority is approximately one half or one third the length, and four or five arm spans (*etaeta*) is a common width. Accurate measurements of many courts reveal that one side and end were several feet longer than the others. The largest court measured is 59 by 120 feet, but the average is 25 by 50 or 75 feet. No rule of orientation to the cardinal points of the compass exists; the controlling factor is the lay of the land. The *ahu* may be found on the downslope end or the upslope end, if the court lies at right angles to a slope.

The surface of the court is level or gently sloping and of one level. Some courts are paved with flat, rectangular basalt slabs, a few with large, flattish water-worn stones, but most with small stones of irregular size and shape. The use of sand, coral, or small water-worn pebbles was not encountered.

A court standing on sloping ground consists of a stone-faced, terraced platform running back to ground level and perhaps extending even farther back by means of an excavation in the hillside. Such excavations are faced with a retaining wall. An insignificant wall 1 to 2 feet high is to be seen partly or wholly surrounding some of these courts. But on level ground most

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courts are enclosed by a wall averaging 2.5 feet high and rarely exceeding 3.5 feet.

Cut stone does not enter into the construction of the court except for squared conerstones appearing in a few enclosing walls. Some of these are of red tuff, but most of them of compact basalt. Many of the stones selected for cornerstones have two flat faces meeting at right angles. The outer facing of some of the enclosures is a very neat flat facing.

The rear *ahu* uprights stand on and against the rear edge of the *ahu,* one at each end, if there are three, and one in the middle (not necessarily exactly in the middle). These uprights are, with some exceptions, taller than the other marae uprights, and the central upright is usually the tallest or bulkiest of all. The maximum height of the central upright is 3 feet; the average, 2 feet. The character of these rear uprights is slablike; none bear the slightest mark of working.

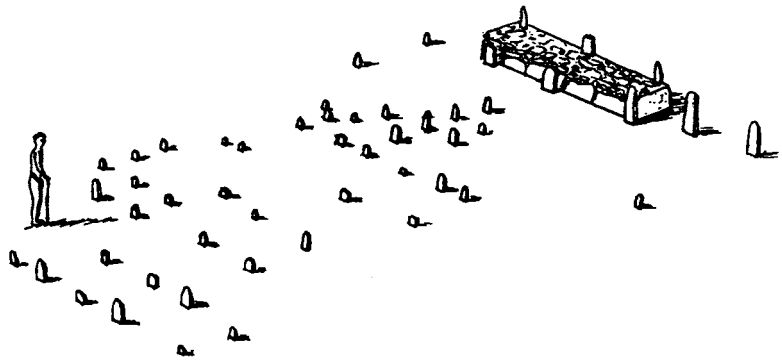

FIGURE 5.—Marae on Meetia (Site 109) of inland Tahitian type, court studded with uprights.

Three uprights, one at each corner and one in the middle, arranged along the front of the *ahu,* against it or a few inches from it, constitute the one feature observed at all well-preserved maraes throughout the Windward Islands. In most inland maraes the height of these uprights is equal to or slightly above that of the *ahu*: the average height is 1.5 feet and the three uprights are generally of about one size, though some central uprights are larger. In addition to the three front uprights a fourth is added at one marae on Moorea (Site 99), two more to one marae in Papenoo Valley (Site 76) and to another in Fautaua Valley, Tahiti (Site 5, marae 4).

At a distance of about 5 or 6 feet out in front of the central front *ahu* upright a pair of small slender uprights or a single upright (pl. 1) was seen

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at nine inland maraes on Tahiti. At the opposite end of most courts stands a single upright or (in three maraes) a pair of uprights. We found many of them to be slabs leaning slightly away from the *ahu* and hence bearing out their character as backrests.

Other uprights to the number of 13 have been seen standing on the court facing the *ahu* unless arranged along the side, and even then as many facing the *ahu* as facing inward. These may be ranged along singly, in pairs, or in rows of three; some are slender basaltic columns and others are slabs. The arrangements are so much without conformity among the maraes that the individual plans must be referred to in order to gain an idea of their disposition. In a few maraes a solitary upright stands alongside of the court and outside of the marae proper (fig. 51). One marae court on Meetia is completely studded with uprights (fig. 5).

COASTAL TAHITIAN MARAE

The stepped-platform maraes I have termed "coastal" maraes, because the 31 ruins studied on Tahiti and the 15 studied on Moorea are on or within a mile of the coast. None have been found in the interior, at such important village sites as Ieiefaatautau in Papenoo Valley and Tetamanu Plateau in Punaruu Valley. The maraes on the capes are all of the stepped-platform type, also nearly all the maraes around the bays. It is no difficult matter to correlate these elaborate coastal maraes with the *arii* and the *raatira* classes. In a chant recited by a chief in 1822 (32, p. 403) are these lines:

> The long capes were the inheritance of the *hui arii:* there stood the great temples. . . Deep bays were the inheritance of the *ra'atira*. . . On the seashore and inland were the lands of the plebeians (*ta'ata ri'i*) bordering on the lands of the great (*feia mana*).

Though the most striking feature of the coastal marae is its stepped *ahu,* equally characteristic is the extensive use of specially selected, or worked, stone in the facing of the *ahu* and court walls.

The *ahu* is a stepped, truncated pyramid or more properly a stepped platform. A clear idea of its structure and at the same time of its relation to the *ahu* of the inland marae is given if one thinks of the topmost step as the simple platform *ahu* of the inland marae, raised on a larger platform (fig. 6, *a*). This larger platform may be placed on one still larger (figs. 6, *b*; 33). In the great marae of Mahaiatea at Papara (fig. 7, pl. 11) this successive elevation was carried on until the primal *ahu* had been raised to a height of 50 feet. But this was exceptional. Marae Nuurua, at Varari, Moorea, was probably the next largest marae ever erected in the islands. It may have had 6 or 7 steps, as compared with the 10 inner steps and 11 outer steps of Mahaiatea. Most *ahu* of coastal maraes consist of 3 inner and 4 outer steps.

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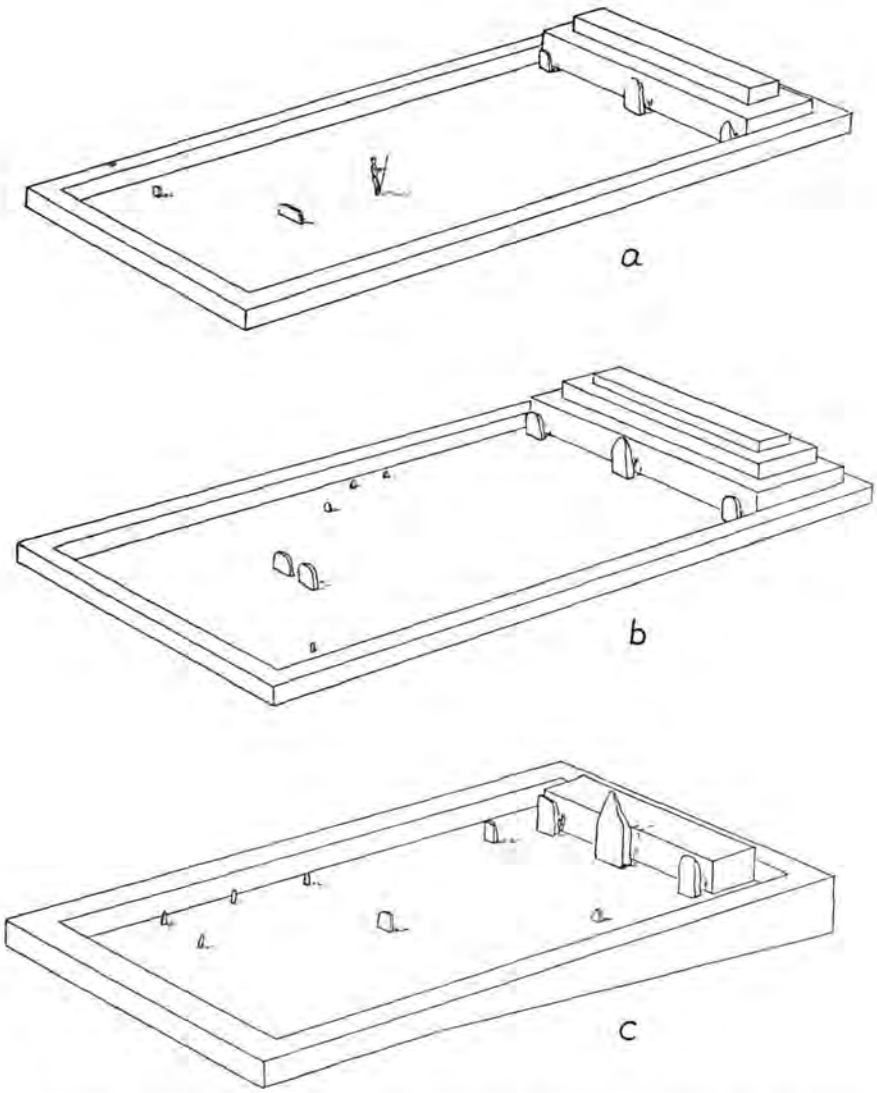

FIGURE 6.—Tahitian maraes: *a*, coastal marae with *ahu* of two inner and three outer steps, sketch based on marae in Hitiaa (Site 50); *b*, coastal marae with *ahu* of three inner and four outer steps, sketch based on marae Arahurahu, Paea (Site 29); *c*, marae intermediate in type between coastal and inland marae, sketch based on marae Teroro inland at Afareaitu, Moorea (Site 95), drawn to double the scale of *a* and *b*.

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At no ruin at which the steps could be clearly distinguished have more than 4 outer steps been counted.

Viewed from outside the marae, the steps of the *ahu* are of about the same height, except for the uppermost. In the two maraes of four outer steps in which the height of the topmost step could be definitely ascertained (marae Arahurahu, Site 29, and marae at Ahotu, Site 24) it is only 1 foot high, compared with an average of 2 to 3 feet for the height of the lower steps.

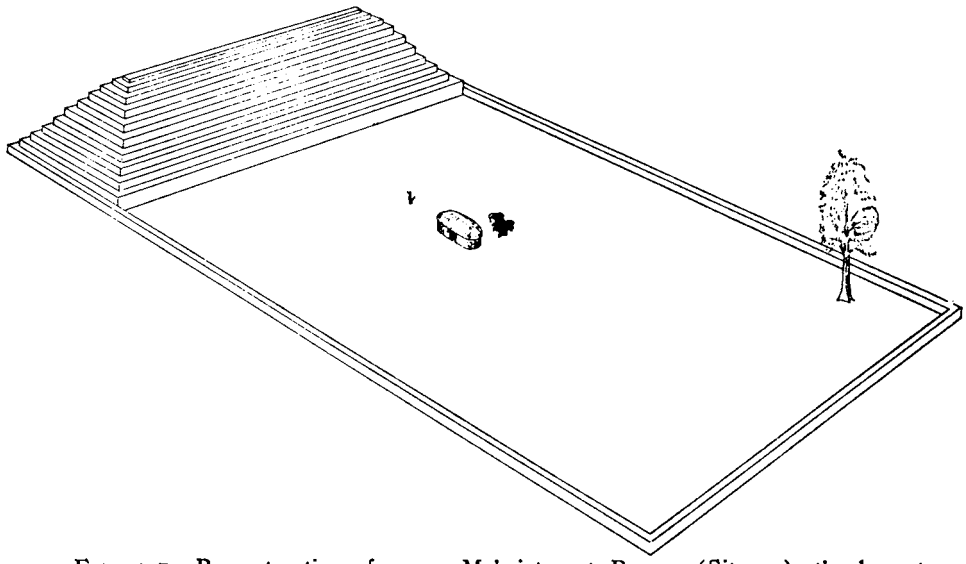

FIGURE 7.—Reconstruction of marae Mahaiatea at Papara (Site 31), the largest marae in Tahiti, constructed about 1767.

Viewed from the court of the marae, the first step of the *ahu* is at least twice as high as the succeeding steps. It averages 5 to 6 feet in height (figs. 6, 33).

No upright stones were found on any of the stepped platforms. As in the Leeward Islands maraes, the row of wooden uprights along the back of the *ahu,* as shown in the drawings of early explorers, apparently displaced stone uprights on the *ahu.*

Corners are marked by single large, squared cornerstones. The first courses of all facings are of coral or basalt blocks, more or less artificially squared; the upper courses are of selected round stones of even size, or of worked round stones. (See pl. 7, *C.*)

The upright basalt columns and prisms on the court occupy relatively the same positions that they do on the court of the inland marae. However, the three uprights directly in front of the *ahu* are proportionately higher than the

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rest, and most central uprights are higher than the flanking uprights. Handy noted a fallen central upright at marae Taputuarai, Papara, which measured 14 feet long. The height of most of them is about 3 feet.

The dimensions of the coastal maraes are considerably greater than those of the inland maraes. The average court enclosure is 120 feet long and 60 feet wide. That of marae Mahaiatea, 267 feet wide by 377 feet long, is by far the largest. The enclosures of several maraes, such as those of Nuurua and Umarea maraes on Moorea, are nearly as long, measuring 346 and 326 feet respectively, but they have proportionately narrower widths—198 feet and 127 feet respectively. The smallest court measured was 51 feet long and 20 feet wide.

The most common pavement is one of flagstones covering the court more or less entirely, but large water-worn stones and irregular stones have been used as surfacing material in place of such pavements. Differences in level and divisions of the pavement were not observed; it must be noted, however, that the trees and bushes growing on the courts have badly disturbed the original floors.

The *ahu* measures on the average 60 feet long, 15 feet wide, and 10 to 12 feet high. The largest is that of Mahaiatea, 267 feet long, 87 feet wide and between 45 and 50 feet high. The next largest is that of Nuurua, in Moorea, 198 feet long, 40 feet wide, and now 20 feet high. Of the *ahu* now standing and retaining something of their original form, the smallest is 5 feet high.

Orientation of any particular marae to any one of the cardinal points would seem to be a coincidence, for as many maraes face one direction as another. Some maraes lie with the *ahu* at right angles to the shore, others with it parallel to the shore on the seaward or inland side of the court. But when at the shore most of them have the *ahu* on the seaward side and the rest at right angles to the sea.

The coastal maraes are found on flat, sandy points abandoned in groves of aged ironwood and *tamanu* trees, or along the shores of bays or on level valley bottoms. Promontories and heights overlooking the valleys seem not to have been favored. Two maraes adjoining and parallel to each other have been found in a number of places, and also groups of three or four maraes.

INTERMEDIATE MARAE

With two forms of maraes existing contemporaneously, and the one obviously derived from the other, it would indeed be surprising if there were no intermediate forms. Although these do exist, there are few of them. An *ahu* higher than that of the ordinary inland type of marae and faced with dressed stone blocks is found in several maraes and widely enough distributed to be accepted as a type (fig. 6, *c*). This *ahu*, furthermore, is placed directly

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against the rear of the court, but does not extend across it. Thus it is intermediate in form and plan between the inland and coastal types of marae, and is found both inland and on the coast. One marae of this kind lies side by side with a coastal marae at Tepo in Haapiti district, Moorea (Site 90). Another lies inland at Apootaata, Faatoai, Moorea (Site 103, *g*). In these two the facing of the front of the *ahu* is entirely of courses of squared coral blocks (see pl. 3, *B*). Next to the marae inland at Apootaata is another of identical plan, but with a facing of natural basalt stone. Also, near by, is still another marae of much the same plan (Site 103, *a*) in which the first, second, and fourth courses are coral blocks, and the third course natural basalt slabs. At Tearataha in the interior of Afareaitu Valley is a marae of this intermediate type in which the *ahu* is faced with courses of coral heads, all of the same size. (See Site 95; pl. 3, *A*.)

In all these maraes the central upright of the three along the front is much higher than the flanking uprights. This is a feature of the coastal type of marae.

On the island of Meetia the maraes of dressed stone have much in common with these intermediate maraes of Moorea. The *ahu* are high and are faced with rows of dressed blocks through which run bands of coral and of black pumice stone; again, the *ahu* do not stretch entirely across the end of the court. However, the stepped *ahu* appears. The *ahu* in one marae rests on a terrace against one end of the court (see fig. 8, *a*); in the other two maraes the *ahu* rests not only on a terrace but also on another platform, and consequently has one step (see fig. 8, *b*). (See Sites 104, 105, 111 Meetia; pl. 8, *B*.)

The round-faced stones do not enter into these intermediate maraes. The facing of the enclosing walls is flat in both Moorea (pl. 3, *A*) and Meetia. This type of wall is found with a number of the largest and finest inland maraes, such as the two lying on either side of a coastal marae at Marae Taata.

LEEWARD ISLANDS MARAE

All except some 10 of 114 ruins pointed out in the Leeward Islands as maraes follow closely one pattern in which the *ahu* is a long, narrow platform, averaging 2 to 5 feet in height, faced with blocked-out limestone slabs set on edge or on end. (See fig. 9.) The *ahu* stands on one end of a rectangular, unenclosed pavement, but not against the end or reaching the sides. There are no upright stones on the *ahu*, but a central upright stands 1 to 2 feet in front of it in some maraes (Site 139), and in others several uprights, small and rectangular in cross section, are ranged along the *ahu* face (Sites 164, 173, 182). One central upright, or a row of uprights parallel to the *ahu*, stands out on the court, and two or three other uprights elsewhere.

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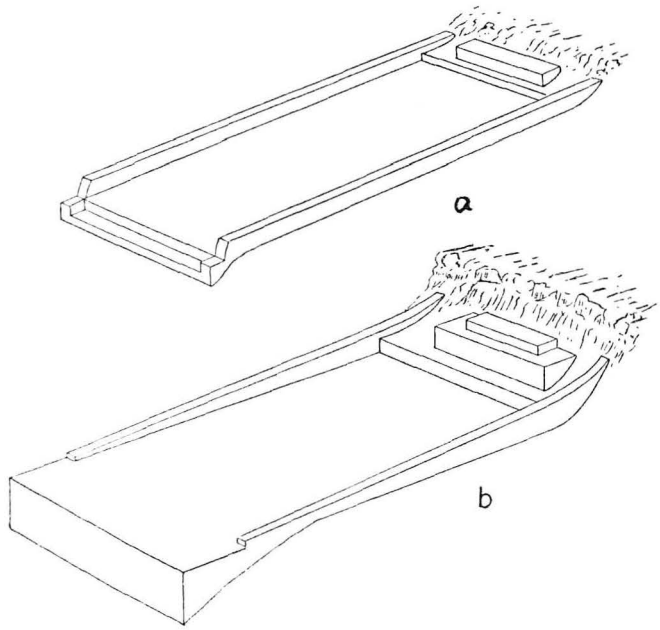

FIGURE 8.—Perspectives of reconstructions of maraes at Tematomato, Meetia, transitional in type between coastal and inland Tahitian maraes; *a*, marae at Site 105, *ahu* faced with typical courses of squared blocks, stepped outer end of court peculiar to this structure; *b*, marae at Site 104, closer to coastal maraes of Tahiti than marae shown in *a* in having stepped *ahu*, but *ahu* faced with courses of squared blocks throughout, as also face of terrace.

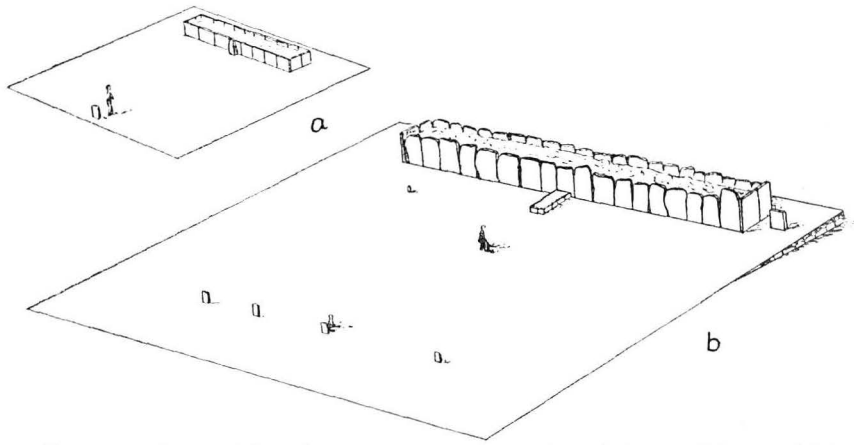

FIGURE 9.—Leeward Islands maraes: *a*, representation of the small Leeward Islands marae based on a marae on Pauana Hill, Farepaiti, Raiatea (Site 193), *ahu* 2.5 feet high, 5 feet wide, 25 feet long, rests on square pavement measuring 50 feet on a side; *b*, megalithic marae typical of royal maraes in the Leeward Islands, paved court about 125 feet square, *ahu* (based on Site 228, Borabora) 10 feet wide, 100 feet long, 8 to 10 feet high, faced with limestone slabs.

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A number of *ahu* have been found with one or several basalt slabs in the place of limestone slabs, but no *ahu* faced entirely with them. No basalt slabs are worked, but many of the limestone slabs are squared or trimmed at the edges. Some slabs are shaped along a side to receive an irregular projection of an adjoining slab.

The typical Leeward Islands marae is found around the coasts of all these islands. Only Huahine, Raiatea, and Tahaa may be said to have an interior. On three excursions into the backlands of Huahine Nui, though several house sites were located, I could discover no maraes; three excursions into eastern valleys of Raiatea resulted in the finding of several small maraes of the same type as the coastal marae.

The favored situation for maraes in the Leeward Islands is the edge of the beach. Many courts project into the waters of the lagoon by means of a platform. The *ahu* of nearly every marae directly on the shore stands on the seaward side, but in maraes away from the shore the *ahu* stand on one end of the court or the other, and on the uphill side or downhill side. Positions at right angles to the sea or slope are rare. The only recorded example of a marae *ahu* standing at right angles to the lagoon is that of Taputapuatea, which, lying exactly (according to hand compass) north and south, may have been purposely oriented. In Tahiti and Moorea several *ahu* at right angles to the lagoon are recorded. In the Leeward Islands two examples of a pair of maraes, or a court having two *ahu*, are known (Sites 159, 203). The concentration of maraes reached its highest development at Maeva, Huahine, where the ruins of 25 maraes are to be seen within a stretch half a mile long by a quarter of a mile wide. The ancestral family maraes of all the chief families of Huahine Nui are gathered here. These maraes are interspersed with ancient and modern house sites. At Tepo, Raiatea, however, five very important maraes were probably quite isolated from ordinary dwelling sites.

Adjoining slabs are fitted together more or less loosely. The corners of the *ahu* were made by simple overlapping; the end slabs overlap the front and rear wall of slabs (as in most *ahu*) or vice versa. The fill is of loose coral or coral and basalt stone. In such *ahu* as have had a slab removed in pre-European times, the fill is carefully faced with coral and basalt stones, and this facing comes flush with the outer faces of the slabs on each side (figs. 87, 102). Two of the largest *ahu* in the Leeward Islands, that of Manunu on Huahine Nui and that of Anini on Huahine Iti, have another smaller platform built like the first and erected upon it (fig. 10, *a*). This is exceptional, and probably only these two examples exist. The lower platform in these two *ahu* are no wider than the *ahu* of similar length in other maraes; hence, the first platform may not have been designed to carry a second, and

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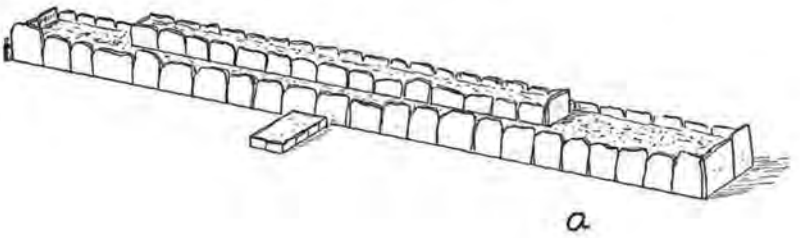
the second may have been added in later times. Marae Taputapuatea at Opo was enlarged not by adding a second platform, but by adding another facin of larger slabs and increasing the height of the fill. No other *ahu* with double facing was seen.



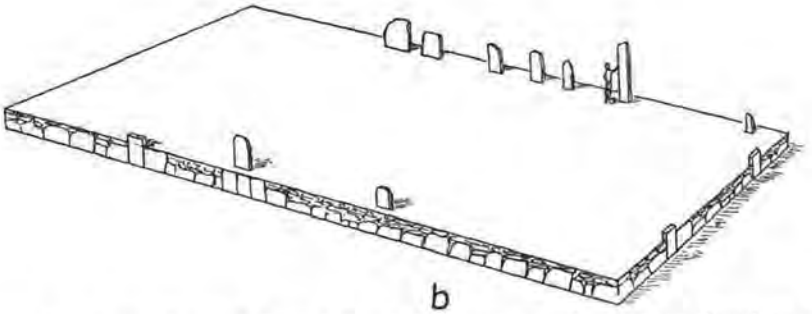


FIGURE 10.—Leeward Islands structures: *a*, marae of two steps, based on marae Manunu at Maeva (Site 132) and Anini at Tiva (Site 182), Huahine, the only tw maraes of this type known in the archipelago, *ahu* 14 feet wide and 150 feet long, foun dation platform averages 6 feet high, imposed platform averages 4 feet high, facing o megalithic limestone slabs; *b*, council platform, marae Fare Toa, Maeva (Site 128).

The *ahu* average 100 feet long and 12 feet wide. The largest measured at Tainuu, at Tevaitoa, Raiatea, is 163 feet long and 20 feet wide. The next in size, at Anini, Huahine Iti, is 150 feet long and 14 feet wide. The third, at Taputapuatea, Opoa, Raiatea, 140 by 24 feet, is followed closely by the *ahu* of marae Marotetini, Borabora, which is 141 feet long and 10 feet wide. Some *ahu* are as small as 16 feet long, 3 feet broad, and 2 feet high. In the largest *ahu* individual slabs reach a height of 10, 12, and 13 feet, but the average in these is 6 feet, and for all *ahu*, 4 feet.

On top of the second platform of the *ahu* of marae Manunu, Huahine (fig. 87), is a vault 1 foot deep, 1.5 feet square, lined with basalt stones and covered with a basalt slab. It contains two skulls. Under an outer corner

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of the *ahu* of marae Maruaitu at Maeva (Site 131) is a slab-lined chamber 2 feet deep, 3 feet square, containing a number of human skulls and bones. Such chambers in other *ahu* were not discovered. However, human bones scattered along the surface of the fill, mixed in with it, or tucked between the facing slabs are common.

As enclosing walls are absent, with two exceptions (Site 139, 206), and many courts sparsely paved with flagstones or only partly paved, or the pavement partly destroyed or removed, the area and outlines of the court are rarely clear. The outline in all well-defined courts is rectangular, and in some of these almost square. The front of one pavement extending by means of a platform into the lagoon at Maeva (Site 124) is convex. The arms are tipped with a basalt slab exactly like an archery platform, which purpose it may well have served, as the distance across the lagoon to the sandy peninsula opposite is less than 300 yards and so within the reach of arrows. Another marae, on Tahaa, appears to have had the front of an archery platform (Site 110).

Orientation to the cardinal points occurs so rarely that it is probably coincidental.

Pavements are of flagstones or of loose basalt and coral stones. Water-worn pebbles, sand, or fine bits of coral were not seen employed as a top dressing.

There are three examples on Huahine (fig. 84, maraes 17, 19, fig. 94) and one on Tahaa (Site 207) of the rear of a court bounded by a house terrace or platform. In two of these an oval outline of stones embedded on edge proves the house to be of the *fare potee* (rounded ends) type.

Against the court face of the *ahu* of maraes Manunu, Rauhuru, and Matairea on Huahine and Taputapuatea at Opoa, Raiatea, stands a low rectangular stone platform 1 to 2 feet high, 12 to 14 feet wide, and extending out more than 5 feet. This served as the *roi* (bed) of the tutelar gods and answers also to Henry's "avaa" (32, p. 133). The feature, on a smaller scale, is also to be seen at marae Tamaruteaoa, at Anau, Borabora (Site 234), and would probably have been detected at many other sites had a search been made for it.

A pit, probably the one for the refuse of sacrifices and for sacred discarded paraphernalia, is to be seen at one end of the *ahu* of marae Teava (Site 157, *e*). This could hardly have been the usual position, as no pit was observed here in any of the other maraes. But at two others, 10 to 20 feet from the court, stands a platform 15 feet square, 2 to 4 feet high, depressed in the middle; this structure may have served as a sacred refuse pit (Sites 135 and 157, *i*).

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All uprights found are basaltic prisms or columns with the exception of the so-called "backrest" of Paheroo at marae Matairea, a squared limestone slab (pl. 7, *A*). The average height is 1.5 feet. The largest seen are not more than 4 feet high, with the exception of the great basaltic slab, the seat of royal investiture at marae Hauviri, Opoa, Raiatea, which measures 9 feet in height (pl. 14, *B*).

COUNCIL-PLATFORM MARAE

In the village of Maeva, Huahine, is a great trapezoidal stone platform 3 feet high, 41 feet wide, 111 feet long on one side, 126 on the other. Nine large basaltic uprights range along the sides; one of them, now fallen, measures 11.5 feet in length (fig. 10, *b*, and pl. 18, *B*). This structure served as a place for national councils in which the chiefs, priests, and warriors met to decide on peace and war and other momentous questions. (See Site 128.) Its name as given to me is marae Fare Toa (warrior's marae). An old white resident married to a woman of the royal family, in writing of this structure (43, p. 64), calls it the *tahua umu puaa* ("pig oven" assembly place) and says it served as a public court and feasting place on great occasions.

An almost identical structure was discovered several miles within the valley of Opoa, Raiatea (Site 189). Its name was given as marae Taumariari. In these two platforms the first course of the retaining wall contains a large number of basaltic slabs and columns set on end. (See pl. 17, *B*.)

At Parea, Huahine Iti, and at Muturaa, Huahine Nui, are large level quadrangles marked out by a line of coral slabs set on edge and standing a few inches to 2 feet above the ground. Each is called a marae and each is without a trace of an *ahu*; two lateral uprights were found on one. At Raai, Tahaa (Site 209), is marae Vaipitoa, another of these maraes without *ahu*. It consists of a stone platform 1 foot high, 26 feet wide, 70 feet long, framed with stones embedded on edge and coming flush with the pavement of flagstones. Along one edge are two basaltic slabs, 3 feet high, 12 feet apart.

All these structures seem to belong to the same type and all are called maraes, though they differ radically from the ordinary maraes in not having *ahu* or median uprights. The only one about which there is any definite functional information served primarily as an assembly place where notables met to discuss public problems. It was also called a *tahua*, which is the name given ordinary assembly grounds.

Structures exactly comparable to these were not found on Tahiti or Moorea.

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Two large stone platforms on level ground, one (33 by 141 feet) at Paepae Apitimanu, Opoa, Raiatea (Site 187), the other (45 by 132 feet) at Tevaitoa, Raiatea (Site 200), are in plan, construction, and dimensions comparable to the five platforms on level ground which I have just mentioned. Old Roometua, my informant at Opoa, said that Pani, an ancient chief of Opoa, dwelt on this platform called Paepae Apitimanu. The chief of Tevaitoa told Handy that the large platform there was the former dwelling site of the chief. Although these two platforms may well have served as foundations for a chief's house, the fact that on level land houses in the Society Islands were not, so far as is known, set on stone platforms, except for these two structures, leads me to believe that they were council platforms originally.

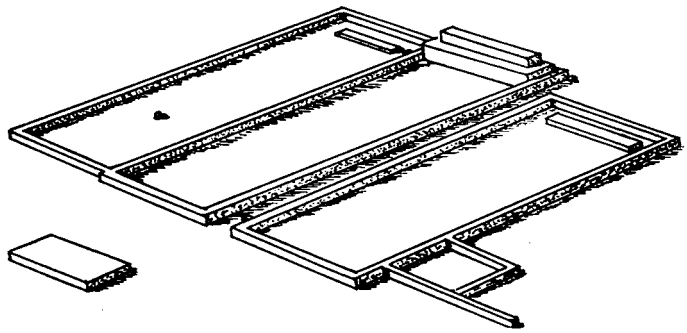

FIGURE 11.—Marae Taata at Papehue, Paea, Tahiti (Site 20).

SEQUENCES OF MARAE TYPES

The stepped-platform maraes on the coast of Tahiti and Moorea are clearly locally developed from the inland type of marae. The plans and the stonework of these coastal maraes are duplicated nowhere else in the Society Islands or in Polynesia, whereas the inland maraes have widely distributed and close affinities in marginal Polynesia.

A coastal marae at Paea, Tahiti (fig. 11), overlaps a marae of the inland type. One corner of the court enclosure of the simpler marae, embedded in the adjoining cut-stone corner of the other, proves that the coastal marae was built later. (See plate 4, *B*.)

The appearance on the coast and in the interior, and on the island of Meetia, to the exclusion of the coastal marae, of a type of marae intermediate in plan and in stonework, gives it a wider distinction than the coastal marae and marks it as older, and as an elaboration of the inland marae leading to the coastal type.

Two of the Meetia maraes have *ahu* with one step along the court face. Stepping may have come about in one of two ways: as a result of raising the

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ahu on a terrace, as in the Meetia maraes; or, as is more probable, as a natural development from the step around the sides and back formed by the enclosing court wall when the *ahu* was increased in size to fill the end of the court. (See fig. 6, *a*.) I believe that this suggested the idea of stepping the *ahu* as it increased in height, in order that it would stand with a dry facing of small worked stones.

So far as is known, the *ahu* of Tahitian maraes did not develop beyond three steps on the court face until quite recently. The large marae at Nuurua, Moorea, which, next to marae Mahaiatea at Papara, Tahiti, is probably the largest ever built, seems to have had more than three steps on the court face. But it was erected not more than 12 or 14 generations ago (25). The enormous *ahu* of Mahaiatea, with a flight of 10 steps up its court face, was being erected when Captain Wallis discovered Tahiti in 1767. Nothing approaching it had ever been built before or was ever to be attempted again.

In the Leeward Islands the maraes with Cyclopean *ahu* differ from the smallest maraes only as regards size. Marae Taputapuatea, according to tradition, was founded 29 generations ago with a stone taken from a marae quite insignificant in size (25). Taputapuatea was the highest ranking marae in the area, but by no means the largest, and originally its *ahu* stood scarcely 3 feet high. It was subsequently (probably 26 generations ago) heightened by the addition of a facing of large, irregular slabs. The two largest Leeward Islands maraes are marae Manunu and marae Anini, on Huahine, both offshoots of Taputapuatea. The two next largest maraes, Marae Tainuu at Tevaitoa, Raiatea, and Marae Farerua at Mautau, Borabora, were founded after Taputapuatea. The *ahu* of the two great Huahine maraes are simple, great platform *ahu* increased in height to the limit which megalithic slabs would allow and then further heightened by the addition of another platform. These are the only two stepped *ahu* in the Leeward Islands; their builders were doubtless influenced by the elevation and stepping of the *ahu* going on in the Windward Islands. Manunu was built, if the traditions are correct, only 15 generations ago.

An ancient and strong link exists between the Windward Islands and Huahine, the nearest neighbor in the Leeward Islands, through Huahine's acknowledged most ancient royal marae, Matairea, dedicated to Tane. This marae differs from all other Leeward Islands maraes but agrees closely in plan with the intermediate type of marae in the Windward Islands. It has no cut stone, but the *ahu*, faced with small basalt stones, is relatively high and is placed against the rear of an enclosed court.

The Leeward Islands council platforms, called maraes, are so few and scattered that they nearly escaped observation. The one in Maeva Village, Huahine (Site 128), furnishes the key to the one in Opoa Valley, Raiatea

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(Site 189), and these two serve to identify the raised platforms of similar dimensions occurring elsewhere. The platforms which once served as the foundations for chiefs' houses at Paepae Apitimanu (Site 187) and at Tevaitoa, Raiatea (Site 200), are except for the present lack of uprights in all respects like one of these council platforms. I believe these exceptional house sites are council platforms which have been converted into house platforms. If this is so, it would imply that they were disappearing from use in pre-European times. At these council platforms the arrangement of uprights around three or four sides of a rectangle brings to mind the Tongarevan (Penrhyn) maraes (9, pp. 148-178) and the maraes of Tubuai and Raivavae (20, 48), indicating that this form in the Leeward Islands is of some antiquity.

It would be difficult to distinguish some of the small Leeward Islands maraes from some of the Windward Islands maraes of the inland type. In both regions there are low *ahu* of the same dimensions, faced with limestone slabs. Whereas the slabs of the Tahitian *ahu* are placed on edge and lend themselves to description as "curbs," some of the low Leeward Islands slabs are also placed on edge (not on end). The Leeward Islands maraes, with one or two exceptions, are not enclosed, nor are a number of the Tahitian maraes of the inland type. Concerning uprights there is this difference: no uprights have been found on Leeward Islands *ahu,* and the three uprights along the face do not appear to have been invariable fixtures. Except for this, the small maraes of the Windward and Leeward islands are almost identical.

The simple coral-faced *ahu* would seem to be the prototype of all the others, for it matters not how far maraes are located in the interior; if the *ahu* is not faced with limestone slabs, then flat, thin pieces of coral are laid against the facing. And coral is not lost sight of in the maraes of intermediate or coastal type in the Windward Islands; the first course of the facings is partly or entirely of coral or limestone.

Thus it would seem that the unenclosed, inland Tahitian maraes with an *ahu* faced with coral slabs is the earliest type of religious structure throughout the Society Islands. From this the megalithic Leeward Islands maraes developed by increasing the size of the component parts. In the Windward Islands the court became enclosed by a stone wall; the *ahu* was shifted to the very end of the court and increased in length, breadth, and height so as to fill and rise above the walls at the end of the enclosure. At the same time the use of cut stone made its appearance. With the further heightening by stepping, the *ahu* was faced with a first course of squared coral blocks and upper courses of round stones of even size squared only in cross section. This type of facing spread to the enclosing walls of the court. The *ahu* increased to three steps on the court face as a normal number. Since 14 genera-

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tions ago at least two and probably not more than four maraes have been erected which had a larger number of steps.

The council platforms of the Leeward Islands are perhaps the original "maraes" of the Society Islands, for as meeting and council places they fulfil the function of the New Zealand marae. The shrines today called "maraes" were probably anciently called "ahu," for numerous maraes in the Society Islands have "ahu" in their names: Ahu-rai, Ahu-roa, Ahu-taa-i-te-rai, Ahu-toru, Te-ahu-o-Ruatama, Ahu-tapu. In the northern part of the Marquesas and in Easter Island the equivalents of Tahitian maraes are called "ahu" and in New Zealand "tu-ahu."

Evidently when the missionaries first arrived in Tahiti, maraes were sometimes referred to as *ahu,* for in Davies' dictionary (15), a new marae derived from an old one is called *ahu tapae* (branch *ahu*), and such appendages of a marae as the *unu* boards, the *tapa'au,* and the altars, were called *ahu tiitii* (decorations of the *ahu*).

ARCHERY PLATFORMS

The bow and arrow in the Society Islands were employed solely in archery, which was considered a sacred sport, restricted to the *raatira* and *arii* classes. The archer mounted a special and sacred stone platform. Ellis (17, vol. 1, p. 219) describes one in his garden on the shore of Hauhine Nui: "It was a stone pile, about 3 or 4 feet high, of a triangular form, one side of the angle being convex."

Tyerman (56, vol. 1, p. 247) visited a marae 3 miles within Parea Valley, Huahine Iti, where *raatira* met "to practice the sacred exercise of the bow and arrow." Moerenhout (45, vol. 2, pp. 148-150) says:

> The place which they chose for these exercises was always some point of sacred land where the first chiefs and members of the high aristocracy only had the right to be present. At the entrance they placed guards, each armed with a lance which they crossed in the form of a barrier, and when an individual dared present himself there, without being a chief of the first rank or of pure aristocratic blood, they kept their lances crossed, lowering the points towards him, to indicate the entrance was forbidden; but they lifted the lances upon the approach of all persons of high nobility.
>
> Women were excluded from the place without exception, although they often had the same amusement, but at a certain distance from the place where the chiefs kept themselves.
>
> There was there a variety of stone platform, where they climbed up to draw the bow, and the young people placed themselves at the opposite extremity of the place, with white flags secured to stocks, indicating by certain conventional movements the arrow which travelled the furthest.

Ellis (17, vol. 1, pp. 218-219) says the place chosen for the sport was generally "either at the foot of the mountain or on the sea shore," and adds:

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The archer ascended this platform, and kneeling on one knee, drew the string of the bow with the right hand till the head of the arrow touched the center of the bow, when it was discharged with great force. It was an effort of much strength in this position to draw the bowstring so far. The line often broke, and the bow fell from the archer's hand when the arrow was discharged. The distance to which it was shot, though various, was frequently 300 yards. A number of men, from three to twelve, with small white flags in their hands, were stationed to watch the arrows in their fall. When those of one party went farther than those of the other, they waved the flags as a signal to the party below. When they fell short, they held down their flags but lifted up their foot, exclaiming *ua pau,* beaten.

Archery was called *te'a* (arrow), *heiva te'a,* or *te'a raa.* The archery platform seems to have had no special name other than *vahi* (place of) *te'a.* The arrows were directed to fall between two small white flags set on the field (17, vol. 1, p. 218). Andia (14, vol. 2, p. 268), who gives a graphic eyewitness account of the archery, says that boys were posted on the highest trees (including coconut trees) at different distances to watch the fall of the arrow and call out whether it hit or missed the mark. But it is clear from the rest of his description that the archers were not shooting at a target, for the arrow was aimed almost perpendicularly overhead.

Before shooting, the archers repaired to a marae to perform several ceremonies in which Patutetavae, god of the archers, was invoked. They then donned the archer's sacred dress, called *puhipuhi-te'a* (*puhipuhi,* "to blow or fan;" *te'a* "an arrow"), and proceeded to the archery platform (17, vol. 1, p. 218; 32, p. 276). At the conclusion of the competition the bow and quiver of arrows were delivered to the charge of a proper person to be kept as sacred objects in the marae. The archer left his special costume in a sacred house at the marae. He and all those who had handled the sacred things were then obliged to wash their bodies entirely before putting on their clothes, touching any nourishment, or returning to their homes.

Four archery platforms were discovered in the depths of Papenoo Valley. The first, at Vaihi (fig. 12), is generally known to the natives of Papenoo Village on the coast, from which it is six hours' march. It is on the north side of the brook which drains the side valley (Vaihi) and faces down an even slope. It was here a famous warrior, Maneu, drew his bow, and my guides were under the impression that his arrows were directed at enemy forces coming up the valley. The fixed position of all platforms, facing a stretch of several hundred yards of even ground or looking onto a flat across a brook, is entirely in accord with the early description of their use solely for archery tournaments.

A second archery platform (Site 73) is located next to a marae at Farehape, an hour's walk beyond Vaihi (29, pl. 3, *B*). This also, our aged guide, Teaia, informed us, was used by Maneu, and the plan and measurements of the two platforms are almost exactly the same.

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Two other special platforms stand side by side at Ieiefaatautau, two days' journey into the interior (Site 77). They face across the stream onto the level bench of the opposite bank. Three hundred yards north of them, down the valley, is a large marae. House platforms were found near all the archery platforms.

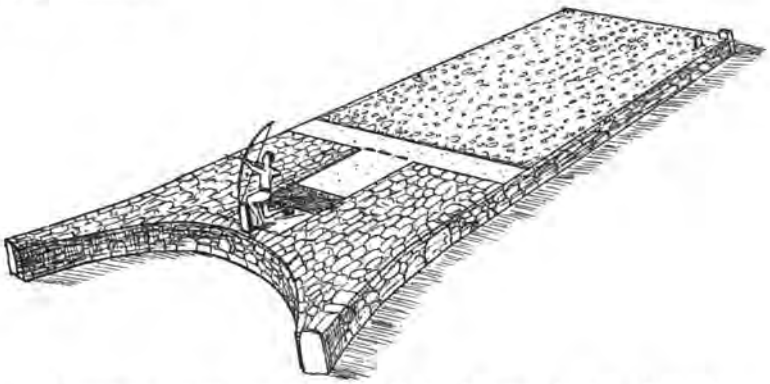

FIGURE 12.—Archery platform at Vaihi, Papenoo Valley (Site 70).

The archery platforms of Papenoo Valley are low, and being set on sloping ground, average 1 foot high in back and 2 feet high in front. The width of the back, which is straight, is from 14 to 18 feet; the two sides, which are equal in length, are 21 to 34 feet long; the platform increases in width from back to front and the sides are not straight but curve slightly outward towards the front. The front face curves inward from 6 to 7 feet from an imaginary line connecting the front corners of the platform, which are 14 to 18 feet apart. The outreaching two arms of the front of the platform are 1 to 2 feet thick at the tip, and set in the tip is a large upright stone slab the top of which comes flush with the level surface of the platform.

The platform is divided transversely in two by an unpaved strip 1.5 to 2 feet wide and 3 to 6 inches lower than the front pavement. The rear division of the platform is elevated 1 foot above the forward one and is entirely paved with large, rough stones. The forward division is paved with flagstones except for a longitudinal strip 3 to 6 feet wide running longitudinally through the middle up to within 2 feet of the front. This, like the transverse strip, is covered with earth and is 3 to 6 inches below the surface of the pavement. Set against the forward edge of the unpaved strip is an upright, flat stone slab 1 foot high.

The retaining walls, or facings, consist of one to four courses of large stones, fitted with some care; the first course may be of larger stones. Some stones are laid flat, end-on in the facing, particularly those of the top course. The corners are built up of flat stones laid horizontally.

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The unpaved strips are bounded by stones set on edge with their long axis parallel to the area.

An upright slab 1 to 2 feet high is set at or on the rear corners of two of the platforms, and on one of these an extra upright appears near a rear corner. No coral was found on any of these platforms.

HOUSE SITES

The Society Islanders built house terraces or platforms only when necessary. Hence on the sandy coastal plains and on level valley floors the sites of ancient houses are rarely marked except by a square or oval of unworked curbs set on edge outlining the plan of the house which once occupied the site. The terraces and terrace platforms on land sloping back from the coast are unelaborated structures (30, pl. 7). No worked stone enters into them. At the best, the facings are flat facings. Many house terraces were paved with small flagstones over the front part. The house occupied the rear part of the terrace. The position of the house on the terrace was rarely marked by curbs, for the reason, I believe, that these curbs served on the coast as a protection against burrowing sand crabs, and at the same time as a frame for a slightly raised floor of earth and sand, or of coral gravel (30, pl. 4, *A*).

In the interior of Moorea at Titiroa, Opunohu, we came across two house sites in each of which the position of a round-ended house was clearly outlined by curbs (fig. 69). This is indicative that the round-ended house may not have been foreign to the earliest culture. The ancient house in Rapa and also in the eastern Tuamotus was round-ended, so the round ends of the meeting and guest houses of Tahiti need not have been imported from western Samoa by the ***hui arii*** as Handy (29, p. 9) has supposed. Buck (10, p. 666) convincingly demonstrates from an exhaustive analysis of technique that "technically there is not the slightest affinity between the Samoan and Society Islands apses [round ends]."

The round-ended Rapan and Tuamotuan house is a primitive dwelling, hardly more or less than a roof set on the ground, but if raised on vertical walls it would bear a striking resemblance to the Tahitian round-ended house. If the Tuamotuan house existed anciently in Tahiti, the rectangular-wall house, it would seem, must have appeared to displace it at the time of the final dispersal of Society Islanders to New Zealand and Hawaii.

In Tahiti and in the Leeward Islands houses on maraes or those used in conjunction with maraes had round ends (pls. 9, 10, *B*, 11; Site 133). If the ***hui arii*** were influenced by western Polynesia in choosing a round-ended type of structure for meeting houses, guest houses, and marae houses, this seems to have been the extent of western influence, the local culture being drawn on for the type of round ends.

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The chief's house at Tevaitoa, Raiatea, rested on a large rectangular raised platform of stone on the level land fronting marae Tainuu. But this, I believe, was originally a council platform.

At a number of places on the coast of Tahiti we observed raised, round-ended platforms marking sites of meeting houses. All of those examined were post-European, made of steel-cut coral curbs joined by mortar.

FORTIFICATIONS

Stone wall barricades were erected at the entrance to the village of Maeva, Huahine, and at the entrances to inland retreats. The most massive wall seen is at the back of Maeva vallage. It measures in places 10 feet high and 10 feet wide. Ellis (17, p. 314) says that on top of this wall warriors kept watch and slept. Where the walls overlooked a declivity up which the enemy might approach, the stones also served as missiles. The Maeva walls had entrances which were blocked with loose stones during hostilities. No moats or ditches used as fortifications were seen.

Just outside of Papeete a hill on which stands the ruin of a French fort is supposed to have been the site of an ancient Tahitian fortification. Near the top are several stone-faced terraces. Handy believes or was told that a hill west of Uturoa, Raiatea (Site 197), cut by terraces, was a fortification. He found a spur of Temehani Plateau on Raiatea (Site 198) apparently fortified by steep, narrow terraces, one above the other, guarding the approaches to the ridge.

WEIR TRAPS AND FISHPONDS

The stone weir traps and fish ponds of the Society Islands are described and compared elsewhere (30, pp. 91-97 and 24). I need here call attention simply to the five stone weir traps known in the Windward Islands, those at Tetiaroa Island. Their location and configuration are shown on the map of the island (fig. 82).

BURIAL PLACES

In ancient times no stone structures marked burials in the earth. Xavier Teroo, in burying an old woman at a spot she had requested in Moorea, came across a long burial vault formed by slabs on edge and a roof of slabs (Site 85).

COMPARISONS AND DISCUSSION

STONEWORK

The extent to which the stonework in the Society Islands is duplicated in Hawaii offers an excellent starting point for any discussion of the age and origin of the Society Islands techniques.

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Hawaii has no structural forms to add to those of the Society Islands. Walls, terraces, platforms, rectangular vaults, reinforced inner facings, corners formed by natural blocks having the two outer faces meeting at right angles, and overlapping corners are the common property of the two areas.

The formation of retaining walls by planting a first course of slabs in a vertical position and adding upper courses of slabs laid horizontally is the fundamental type of facing employed in the Leeward Society Islands, where both limestone and basalt slabs are the most readily procurable materials. It is exemplified in Hawaii by the facing of the walls of heiau Kihawahine on Niihau (4, p. 154). But this work, though assuredly present, is weakly represented in Hawaii.

Large slabs set on edge and side by side, as a style of facing, are to be seen at one heiau on Kauai, that of Hikina-a-ka-la at Wailua (4, p. 125). The enclosing walls were formed by erecting slabs 2 to 4 feet high in two rows 8 feet apart and using a rubble fill. Except for the use of basalt throughout, a wall of this kind is identical with the detached wall which forms the *ahu* of maraes in the Leeward Society Islands. The same kind of facing has been adopted for part of heiau Kukui, a mile north of heiau Hikina-a-ka-la in the subdistrict of Olohena. Olohena is the name of the principal mountain peak in Tahiti. The subdistrict of Wailua which adjoins Olohena was the home of the chief Moikeha, who, in Hawaiian tradition, lived in Tahiti with Olopana about 26 generations ago. The name Hiki-na-a-ka-la is one of the very few Hawaiian heiau names which may have been borrowed from the southeast. In the Tuamotus Hiti-aga (= Hawaiian Hiki-ana) turns up as a marae name in five of the atolls, at Reao assuming the form Hiti-aga-a-te-ata (= Hawaiian Hiki-ana-a-ka-aka). One of Tahiti's principal maraes is Hiti-a'a (= Tuamotuan Hiti-aga).

That the sole Hawaiian example of large slab facing paralleling that of the Leeward Society Islands should appear in a heiau probably bearing a Tahitian name, and in a district chosen by a chief from Tahiti, would indicate that it was introduced by Tahitian men who would of course be familiar with any Leeward Islands methods as striking as this if they were in existence at the time the emigrants left. In Hawaii these people would have been freer to introduce Leeward Islands methods than in Tahiti where convention and available materials held stone construction closely to old molds.

The rudimentary stonework of the Windward Society Islands is undistinguishable from much of the stonework in Hawaii. We see in both regions the same rough facings of stones of varying sizes and shapes, the same rough pavements of flat stones 1 to 2 feet in diameter. The "flat facing" of Tahiti, in which stones of uneven sizes and shapes were fitted nicely together with a flat face exposed in the wall, and which typifies the best work in the interior,

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is fairly common in Hawaii, though not nearly so common as in Tahiti. The facing of Lohiau's house platform on Kauai is a "flat" facing of the Tahitian type (4, pl. 6, *B*) and on this account it stands out as an exceptional piece of work in the neighborhood. This Lohiau is associated with Pele and Hiiaka, who are of southern origin. It seems probable, therefore, that this typical Tahitian facing was introduced from Tahiti. I believe it significant that the only ancient large dressed slab of limestone known in the Hawaiian islands is that unearthed in 1933 by the Kauai Historical Society, not far from heiau Hikina-a-ka-la, at the birthplace of the Kauai kings descended from Moikeha.

In Hawaii two isolated examples of cut-stone work have had attention drawn to them as much on account of their traditional interest as because the method of dressing and fitting the stones is so different from anything else in Hawaii and so similar to characteristic Society Islands work that I do not hesitate to attribute it to influence from that quarter.

The most notable example is the Menehune irrigation ditch at Waimea, Kauai, fully described by Bennett (4, pp. 105-107). The outer facing of the elevated ditch is composed of blocks of varying lengths but of more or less even heights, some of which have had a shoulder cut in them to enable them to fit closely against two adjacent blocks, one of which is a little wider than the other. The stones have been dressed mainly in place, leaving a rough, projecting face on that part of the stones of the first course buried in the ground, or on the inner end of those stones which are wider than a block placed on top of them. The ends of a number of stones are cut diagonally, thus making diagonal joints when fitted together.

All these features are to be seen among the dressed blocks now scattered through the village of Kailua on the island of Hawaii, incorporated in doorsteps, corners of stone buildings, or placed about as benches. They come from the facing of some structure, which once stood on the shore of Kailua bay. The dressed stones of Kailua have been looked upon as the "stones of Umi," which, according to tradition, were ordered by chief Umi for his "tomb" (for the platform for a sepulchral house at Kailua?) (49). These were to have been "a fathom or more in length, a yard wide, and half a yard deep," and were to be sent in from all over Hawaii and Maui. The Naha stone at Hilo, and the Keoua and Kaahumanu stones at Honaunau, Hawaii, partly dressed blocks of about the size specified, are supposed to be among Umi's stones which never reached Kailua. From the scattered position of the Kailua blocks, only a few of which, however, approach the great size demanded by Umi, it was thought that perhaps they were never assembled into the structure for which they were intended (49). We see now that the Kailua stones had been fitted into a facing identical with that of the ditch

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traditionally built by the menehunes at Waimea, Kauai. These facings differ in no important respect except for the occurrence of diagonal joints from the facings of notched-squared blocks to be seen on Meetia in the Society Islands, and if the two Hawaiian examples were executed by migrants from Tahiti one or the other or both of them must have been made before the time of Umi, who lived between 12 and 15 generations before 1900. Umi may have been a traditional collecting point for events earlier than his period, as King Kamehameha has become today.

That the construction of facings of rectangular blocks of unequal size, necessitating in some instances the cutting of shoulders or jogs in order to bring the top of the finishing course to a level, is an old technique in southeastern Polynesia is clear from its appearance in prehistoric image platforms of Easter Island (54, pls. 29, 35), where it is even more at home than in the Society Islands, the only other place in Polynesia from which it has been reported besides Hawaii. While it may have evolved either in Tahiti or Easter Island, its appearance as the dominant note in the cut-stone facings of ancient Peru makes South America a possible source, with Easter Island, where its megalithic aspect brings it more in line with the Inca work, the introductory point. As it is now generally agreed that the sweet potato in southeastern Polynesia is an introduction from America, and one antedating the final dispersals to Hawaii and New Zealand, it is quite within reason to entertain an American origin for a cultural element so specialized as this stone facing. It is a conspicuous element localized in the part of America nearest to Polynesia, a part where currents strike out and flow in the direction of Easter Island and the Tuamotus. This current in 1929 carried a flock of drums of gasoline from some wreck on the South American coast into the Tuamotus, bringing timely aid to the nearly exhausted supply of our party. May not one of the seagoing rafts of the early Incas have been swept into this current carrying survivors as far as Easter Island 2,000 miles to the west?

From Easter Island to Tahiti, another 2,000 miles west, voyages are more likely to have been performed. In times of trouble Easter Islanders forced to flee from their island, or Polynesian visitors turning back, would set out before the Trades towards the islands to the west, taking with them things or ideas which were new to Polynesia and of value or interest to them. Although in historic times the Easter Island canoes were tiny and frail crafts, these are not the ones in which the island was discovered. The Easter Island technique of canoe building is one with that of the Tuamotus, which permits the building of fairly large vessels from very small pieces of wood.

The Tahitian facings of a first course of curbs and upper, perfectly even courses of round-faced stones squared in cross section, not to be seen any-

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where else in Polynesia, are presumably a local development influenced by the facings of squared blocks and growing out of the use of water-worn stones. But this remarkable facing is closely paralleled by Inca facings described by Bennett (5, p. 172): " . . . small blocks laid in horizontal rows. The blocks are rounded on the front side." However, the faces of the Inca blocks are much flatter than the Tahitian, and it is not known that the Inca blocks taper inward. Also, the Tahitian facings are associated only with a type of marae which probably came into existence after final contact with Hawaii—but so shortly after that there is room for doubt.

It should here be noted that in Hawaii water-worn stones were used in facings but not laid out in even rows, and that the laying up of stones in even courses, practised to some degree in the Marquesas, is unknown in Hawaii. Therefore the Tahitian facings of natural water-worn stones, which are in even courses, may be the outcome of copying the dressed-stone facings. If this is true the derivation of the round-faced blocks from the squared blocks rather than from facings of natural rounded stones is the more certain, or an introduction from Peru more probable.

The megalithic slab facings of some of the image platforms of Easter Island are capped with horizontally laid stones bringing the top of the wall to a level (54, fig. 17, pl. 31). This is really nothing more than a magnification of a typical Leeward Society Islands or Tuamotuan facing of a first course of vertical slabs and upper courses of horizontal slabs. But take away this coping of horizontal slabs and you have at Easter Island a facing identical with the megalithic slab facings of Tonga and Fiji. This work goes back so far in the Leeward Society Islands and in Tonga that it is difficult to say which used it first. If the Tongans employed it before the Society Islanders, then a Fijian origin is possible. The heightening of facings of slabs placed in a row on edge or on end, by increasing the height of the slabs selected instead of by adding courses of slabs laid horizontally, or other stones, requires little more stimulus than the presence of easily procurable large slabs. In Easter Island, where magnification was carried to the greatest extremes, not only were vertical slabs of the largest possible size brought into use, but the facing walls were further heightened by the addition of superimposed layers of stones.

Facings of more than one course of cut stone do appear in the Marquesas, but in other parts of Polynesia outside of Tahiti and Easter Island the cut stone which has been found is in single courses of slabs, curbs, or blocks. The dressed curbstones of Raivavae are in connection with maraes built in rather recent times. The Marquesan cut-stone work is in association with stone images carved in the round or half round, and these images all bear the conventional Marquesan treatment of features, a local and comparatively recent development. Linton (39, p. 18) says of the Marquesan work, "The

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line of demarcation between cut and uncut stone is so sharp that it seems inconceivable that one could have been developed from the other locally." If cut stone in the Marquesas is a recent and borrowed feature, Tahiti is the most likely source.

The Tongans carried the dressing of stone slabs, curbs, and blocks to a degree of perfection in a number of ways beyond the Tahitians, but their careful work came in rather suddenly and during about the sixteenth century, if McKern's findings (44, p. 74) can be trusted. To the adjacent west we look in vain for such cut-stone work, but to the east is work from which the Tongan could be derived.

All the typical facings of the Society Islands, even those of dressed stone, save the specialized facings of the coastal type of marae, are duplicated in Hawaii, but to such a feeble extent that it must be admitted that the Hawaiian equivalents are most likely derived from the southeast.

The Marquesan, Austral, and Tongan cut-stone work is probably of more recent date than the Tahitian, and therefore due to Tahitian influence. No further evidence, I believe, is needed to show that it was present in Tahiti prior to the final separation of Hawaiians and Maoris from this cultural center some 20 generations ago, or before the fourteenth century.

Structures

Early

The maraes of the Society Islands, in contrast with the varying and poorly differentiated stone remains of ceremonial structures in Hawaii and the Marquesas, promise through a comparative study a far greater illumination of the early course of Polynesian history.

The Tahitian inland marae, from which the coastal maraes are unmistakably derived, is, with minor differences, found throughout the western Tuamotus. In my study of the Tuamotuan maraes (24) detailed comparisons between the two are made, and it is shown how the maraes of the eastern Tuamotus, in diverging from those of the west, approach the prehistoric maraes of Necker Island in Hawaii and Sydney Island in the Phoenix Islands north of Samoa. Attention is also directed (24) to the basic similarity in plan between these eastern Tuamotuan maraes and the prehistoric image *ahu* of Easter Island. The eastern Tuamotuan maraes represent a form of considerable antiquity in southeastern Polynesia. The essential features of this marae are a long and narrow, simple stone platform bearing a row of slab uprights along the back and facing on a rectangular, more or less open court on which may stand an arrangement of uprights serving as backrests.

In Tahiti a reduction and final elimination of the rear *ahu* uprights of stone, coupled with the heightening and elaboration of the *ahu*, can be traced

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in the evolution of the coastal marae from the inland marae. In the Leeward Society Islands the smaller maraes, of which the larger ones are simply magnifications, are quite similar to the unenclosed inland Tahitian marae except that they lack the stone uprights on the *ahu*. This may be due to the wooden slabs set up along the back, and the introduction of wooden slabs into Tahiti may account for the loss of stone *ahu* uprights. These historic Society Island maraes are not replicas of the earliest maraes set up in the islands, if the eastern Tuamotuan maraes are assumed to represent them, but preserve enough of their character to make extremely likely the supposition that the Tuamotuan marae is the prototype.

In New Zealand the *tu-ahu* with a row of upright stones planted across one end of the open space is apparently the Tahitian inland marae reduced to its simplest in form and function (24). The name itself carries with it a memory of the most conspicuous feature of a Society Islands marae. Elsewhere (p. 41) I have given facts which indicate that in the Society Islands and in the Tuamotus the ancient maraes were once called "ahu."

In New Zealand the marae is the open square before or around the public meeting house and a tribal gathering place for dancing, drilling, and public functions in the open. The word *tahua*, which is the name of the assembling ground for public contests, dancing, and drilling in Tahiti, the Tuamotus, and Hawaii, and for the tribal feasting and dancing place in the Marquesas, is, in New Zealand, a synonym for their marae. But *malae* is the term for the assembly places in Tonga and Samoa. The term "marae" as applied to sacred places seems to have grown up in Tahiti after the last of the migrants to New Zealand and Hawaii had left and then to have spread to the adjacent archipelagos. It has been assumed that this came about in Tahiti through the increasing exclusiveness and tapu of the tribal meeting ground or marae, due to the increasing sanctity of the chiefs who were their proprietors; the consequent bringing into the marae of the ancestral rites which centered around the chief thus converted the marae into a sacred place (39, pp. 50, 53). The separateness of the *tu-ahu* and marae in New Zealand, then, would represent the original situation in the Society Islands.

This idea finds support in that the council platforms of the Leeward Society Islands, called "maraes" and yet without *ahu*, served as places for functions which in New Zealand took place on the maraes. One of these maraes is known also by the name *tahua umu puaa* (pig-oven *tahua*). As a public feasting place with seats set along the sides in the form of backrests, its correspondence to the Marquesan *tohua* is obvious. Adjoining almost every Marquesan *tohua* is a platform, or a number of platforms and terraces, reserved for religious rites. In the southern Marquesan islands the sacred appendage is called "me'ae," but in the northern islands it is not differentiated by name from the *tohua* and so has become merged with it.

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The detached sacred platforms in the north, however, are called "ahu," whereas those in the south are called "me'ae" (39, p. 31). The term *me'ae* for a sacred structure has evidently come into the southern Marquesas from Tahiti, where the conversion of maraes into sacred places has caused the word to be applicable to sacred structures.

The merging of the Maori *tu-ahu* and marae in the Society Islands would not have involved great changes in the *tu-ahu,* if the original *tu-ahu* was the open inland Tahitian marae, or its Tuamotuan prototype, and if the original marae was the council platform of the Leeward Society Islands. The adding of a stone enclosing wall to the sacred place in the Windward Society Islands is probably an addition caused by the taking over of the marae, for the wall seems to have served as a seat for spectators and so to have taken the place of the seats along the side of the platform of the original marae. It is not known how many of these original maraes may have survived in the Leeward Islands, but the fact that some of them did may have hindered the complete absorption by the *tu-ahu* in the Leeward Islands of the original marae functions and thus account for their present open marae courts.

It is likely that the Society Islands shrine first became connected with the original marae before the two merged, because in the interior of Tahiti several inland open-platform shrines are attached to large ceremonial platforms or enclosures, and this is what is found in the Marquesas. The Marquesan *me'ae,* or *ahu,* is the equivalent of the open inland Tahitian marae, but if the Marquesan sacred platform is derived from it there is little in the appearance of the Marquesan structure to suggest the connection.

The maraes of Tongareva (10, pp. 148-178) have much the same pattern as the council-platform maraes of the Society Islands. They are well-defined quadrangular courts with uprights set at intervals along the four sides and facing inward. But some of them have an *ahu* placed against the end with the largest uprights. The *ahu,* therefore, has uprights along the back and off to each side, and so is more or less identical with Tuamotuan *ahu.* This gives one to wonder if the Tuamotuan marae did not originate by the erection of a platform seat across that end of a tribal meeting place which had the principal backrests, reserving the backrests for the departed and deified ancestors and these maraes for the tribal rites where the presence and aid of the ancestral gods was necessary. The creation of such a sacred marae, called "ahu" to distinguish it from the common marae, could have brought about the atrophy of the original marae so that eventually the only marae would be the sacred one. There would then be no need to call it "ahu" to differentiate it from other maraes.

In the Austral Islands, the maraes of Tubuai are *ahu*-less courts along

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three sides of which are set uprights, side by side, and in Raivavae the fourth side is closed in by such a wall of slabs (48). The prehistoric maraes of Malden are slab enclosures like those of Raivavae and in all probability built by migrants from Raivavae (20). The very little that is known concerning these Austral enclosures indicates that councils of warriors and chiefs were held here, as well as religious ceremonies. Functionally and physically they appear to have sprung from the council-platform maraes of the Leeward Society Islands. These maraes, or specialized *tahua* of the Society Islands, were probably a feature brought by the earliest settlers from, or by way of, Micronesia, for rectangular platforms serving as dance floors and studded with backrest slabs in rows along the edges are conspicuous in western Micronesia.

Also, sacred places in Micronesia have slab backrests reserved for the gods, but I can learn of no arrangement of uprights in connection with a narrow platform comparable to the Tuamotuan maraes. It would seem that this arrangement took shape in southeastern Polynesia, unless the Sydney ruins in the Phoenix Islands were left by the Polynesians while on their way into eastern Polynesia. The Phoenix Islands are more accessible and more in line with drift voyages from southeastern Polynesia than is Hawaii, yet the Necker maraes in Hawaii are derived from the southeast, and not vice versa, according to my conclusions drawn from a comparative analysis of Necker Island culture (19, p. 120). So, unless these maraes are found farther west, it is likely that the Sydney maraes were built by voyagers from the east. Should such a discovery be made we would have seriously to reconsider the possibility that this type of marae passed into the southeast via Hawaii, in spite of existing evidence pointing to Tahiti as the source of the Necker marae.

INTERMEDIATE

What I have called the intermediate Tahitian marae is one possessing an enclosed court and an *ahu* stretching completely across one end. Many Hawaiian heiaus are rectangular enclosures with a terrace across one end, and among these are the two heiaus on the island of Hawaii traditionally founded by Paao (55, pp. 48-54), a migrant from Tahiti about 25 generations ago, or in the thirteenth century. It is said that Paao was responsible for a change in Hawaiian heiaus from an open platform to an enclosure (25, vol. 2, p. 36). One of the two Paao maraes is located at Upolu Point, the north point of Hawaii, where Paao finally settled. Paao is said by native historians to have lived in Kahiki, at Upolu, and to have owned land in Vavau (50, p. 43). Uporu is the ancient name of the northern extremity of Tahiti, Vavau the ancient name of the district adjoining (32, pp. 73-74). If Paao came from there at the period stated, it is more than likely that he

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was familiar with the intermediate marae. We can well believe, therefore, that he attempted to introduce this form. However, open-platform heiaus were certainly built after the time of Paao and until the coming of the Europeans, and if his enclosed heiaus were the first in the islands his pattern was followed only very roughly by subsequent builders.

Because almost the only feature which the historic open-platform heiaus have in common with the Necker marae, as compared with the enclosed heiaus, is the absence of an enclosing wall, it is difficiult to believe the open-platform heiaus are based on the Necker marae. Yet I have presumed that the Necker marae was the religious structure displaced by the heiaus erected during and subsequent to Paao's regime (19, p. 120). The assumption that the Necker marae once existed in the main Hawaiian islands is corroborated to a considerable extent by the discovery in 1931 by Mr. A. E. Hudson, during an archaeological survey on Hawaii, of one of these maraes on the slope of Mauna Loa, and the recognition that the numerous simple stone platforms in Haleakala crater, on the island of Maui (18), may be variants of this marae.

If the Hawaiians had been in the habit of building heiaus without enclosing walls, and if they were to vary Paao's enclosed heiau, the wall feature would not have seemed absolutely necessary. Among the large and important heiaus no difference in function was implied by their being enclosed or open. Add an enclosing wall to the open-platform heiau and it would not have differed fundamentally from the enclosed heiau—the superstructures, decorations, and ceremonies were the same, and may have been instituted, in large part, by Paao. But a heiau at Waimea, Kauai, had much the same arrangement of slab uprights, though in wood, of the Necker marae (19, pl. 14), suggesting that other things may have been carried over from this prehistoric marae. The name "heiau" itself may have come from the Necker marae which is so much like the Tuamotuan, for in the Tuamotus "heiao" was the term for the house for sacred paraphernalia located at or near some of the maraes. In Polynesia sacred places are named after one or another of their important features.

LATE

Of the Society Islands maraes evolved latest, neither the coastal marae of Tahiti nor the megalithic marae of the Leeward Islands is found outside the Society archipelago, but the stepped-platform *langi* (burial tombs) of Tonga bear at least a superficial resemblance to the stepped *ahu* of Tahiti and raise the question whether one did not influence the other. The stonework of the *langi* is the megalithic work of the Leeward Society Islands plus a skill in shaping equal to that of the Windward Islands. For lack of materials

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other than coral and limestone the Tongans could not have duplicated the facings of the Tahitian *ahu*. They could, however, have taken over the Tahitian skill in dressing stone. McKern (44, p. 72), who has made the study of Tongan *langi*, doubts the independent development of the stepped platforms or of the stonework.

For the Tahitian *ahu* to have influenced the Tongans to elevate and step their royal burial mounds or platforms the Tahitian stepped *ahu* would have to antedate the Tongan structures. But the first of the stepped *langi* goes back in Tongan traditional history to the reign of Tuitatui (44, p. 74), who lived 28 generations before 1900, or about 1200 A. D. It is after this, so I have calculated from a study of Tahitian genealogies, that the Tahitian stepped *ahu* marae appeared.

Stepped platforms similar in plan and stonework to some of the Tongan platforms and bearing a house for the dead have existed in Fiji from ancient times. The *langi*, then, should be numbered among Fijian borrowings except for its cut-stone work, which is almost certainly the result of Tahitian influence. The dressing and fitting of slabs and blocks in Tahiti goes back earlier than the appearance of the stepped *ahu*. The Tahitians may have seen or heard about the Tongan *langi*, and this may have been a factor in the development of the Tahitian stepped *ahu*. However, because of radical differences in detail and function it is more likely that the Tahitian and Tongan stepped platforms were quite independently evolved.

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RECORD OF RUINS

TAHITI

Arue District

Site 1. Marae Ahutoru (?) or Tarahoi (?), at Papaoa.

The marae occupied all the point seaward of the tomb of Pomare V. A few worked round stones and curbs of the facing of the *ahu* and the court enclosing walls may still be seen scattered over the point.

A vain search was made for the other royal marae of Arue, called Raiamanu, or Raianaunau, situated at Raiamanu, the boundary between Haapape and Arue, on Taharaa Hill. Although we found a stone 2.5 feet high on Taharaa Plateau, evidently marking the old boundary between the two districts, no trace of the marae was discoverable. As the land was mostly cleared of brush, the search was made under favorable conditions.

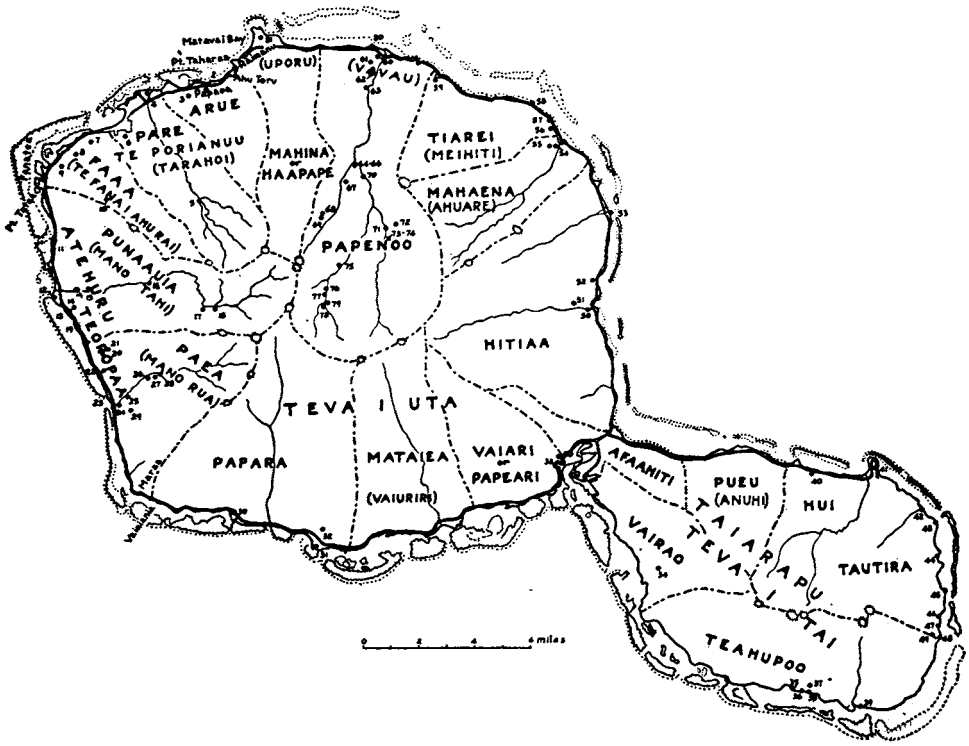

Figure 13.—Map of Tahiti showing approximate location of archaeological sites.

Site 2. Structure said to be marae Eahuriri, on the land known as Eahuriri, west bank of the first stream east of the Arue schoolhouse and several hundred yards inland.

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A solid stone platform 3 feet high, 45 by 60 feet. Its long axis lies parallel to the stream and 60 feet from it. A little coral is scattered about one end of the platform. There is no worked stone.

Site 3. Petroglyphs, immediately back of the Arue schoolhouse.

Three of a number of large boulders are carved with one or more series of concentric circles. These were first noted by Dr. L. Sasportas of Papeete, who called my attention to them. The first boulder, 5 feet high, touches the inland boundary of the school yard. On the upper part of the face, visible from the yard, is carved the turtle shown in figure 128, *i*. Ten inches to the right of it a segment of a circle is traceable. It is surprising that this face with its rather conspicuous carving has not tempted the school children to cut figures upon it. Fifteen feet to the west of this boulder is another having on the northeast face a series of five concentric circles, with diameter over all of 15.5 inches, and a series of four concentric circles with a dot in the center (fig. 128,, *h*) on the northwest face. Seven feet to the west of this boulder is the third petroglyph boulder. On the north face are two large concentric circles of five circles each. On the top surface of the first boulder is a petroglyph consisting of four or five concentric circles. The grooves of all the carvings are 0.25 to 0.5 inch wide and 0.2 inch deep.

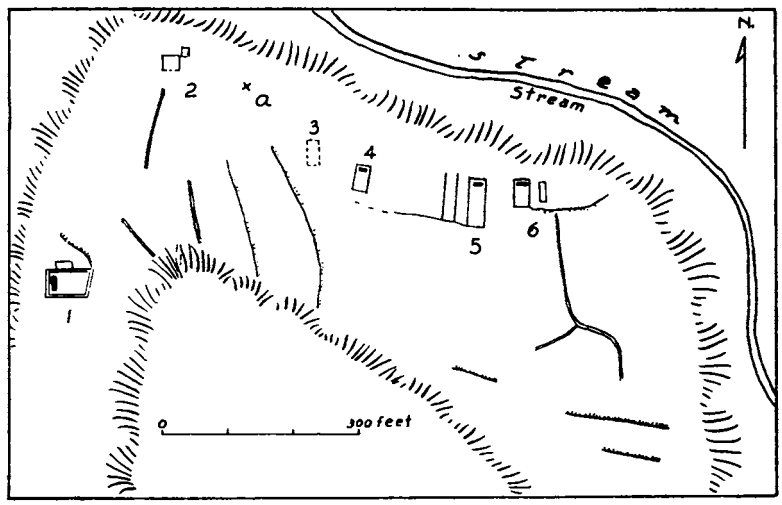

FIGURE 14.—Map showing position of ruins on Fautaua Plateau (Site 5): 1-6, maraes; *a*, stone used for grinding adzes; low stone walls marked by double lines, terraces by single lines; drop from edge of plateau to stream below, about 400 feet.

PARE DISTRICT

Site 4. Marae Taputapuatea. The site of the marae was not located, but I believe it may be on Mr. Sam Russell's property just east of Taunoa and 200 yards from the shore. This was the site of some important marae, as evidenced by the worked marae stones, the large *tamanu* trees, and the regard which the natives have for the place, saying that here the royal canoes were pulled up.

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Site 5. Village site on Fautaua Plateau, at the juncture of the two main branches of Fautaua River and 3 miles within the valley. There are six small maraes. (See fig. 14.)

Marae 1. The court of this marae has a wall ranging in height from 1.5 to 6 feet, depending on the slope of the ground. The court is paved with large slabs. The outer facing of the east wall is of irregular stones with a flat face exposed in the wall. The corners are made with naturally squared basalt rocks. The plan is given in figure 15.

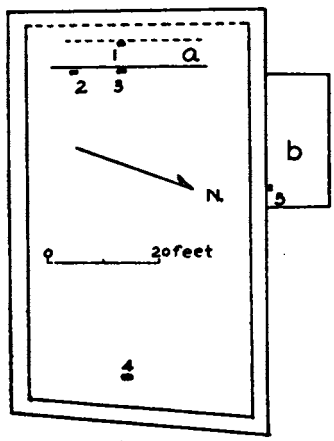
Marae 2. A platform approximately 30 feet square. An *ahu* seems to have stood on one end. To the east and 1 or 2 feet away is a terrace on which stand two basalt stones 3 feet apart, each 2 feet high.

Marae 3. Completely in ruin.

Marae 4. The plan is given in figure 16.

Marae 5. An *ahu* faced along the front by coral slabs. It stands on a paved terrace 33 feet wide, 74 feet long. One of the coral slabs of the *ahu* is 2 feet long, 1 foot high, 3 inches thick. Against the front of the *ahu* and in the middle is a basalt upright 1.5 feet high.

Marae 6. The plan is given in figure 17. To the east 12 feet is a platform 12 by 33 feet, 2 feet high on the south end. The cleared and even ground back of the terraces suggests that they were house sites.



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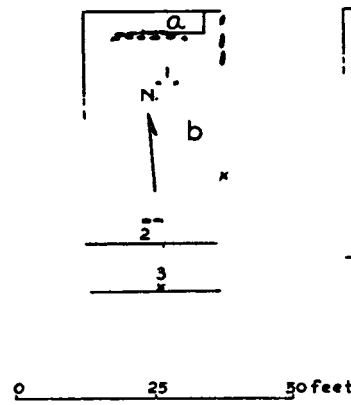

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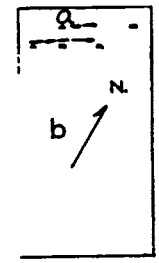

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FIGURE 15.—Marae 1, Fautaua Plateau (Site 5), 77 feet long, 46 feet wide: *a*, *ahu* 6 inches high faced with small coral slabs; *b*, platform 10 by 24 feet, 1.5 feet high; 1-5, basalt uprights respectively 32, 28, 21, 23, and 11 inches high, upright at 4 leans away from *ahu*.

FIGURE 16.—Marae 4, Fautaua Plateau (Site 5), 42 feet long, 25 feet wide: *a*, *ahu*, terrace 6 inches high faced with thin pieces of coral, uprights along front from left to right 29, 17, 17, 36, 22, and 18 inches high; *b*, partly paved court; 1, uprights 8 inches high; 2, uprights 16 and 21 inches high, leaning away from *ahu*; 3, low terrace against end of marae; *x*, position of two small grindstones.

FIGURE 17.—Marae 6, Fautaua Plateau (Site 5): *a*, *ahu* framed by basalt columns laid end on, upright on *ahu* 31 inches high, that to right 24 inches high; *b*, court entirely paved, 24 feet wide, 46 feet long.

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Site 6. Petroglyphs, Oteoteroa, Tipaerui Valley.

The petroglyphs are on three boulders by the side of a brook bed about 2 kilometers from the sea (2). The principal boulder lies on the west bank of the brook (pl. 19, *A*); the other two, which were taken for road construction sometime between 1926 and 1929, lay on the opposite bank. The boulder on the west bank presents a flat, smooth, water-worn surface 7 feet long and 5 feet wide, which is almost entirely filled by the most conspicuous carving. During heavy rains the brook floods this rock, but as yet the grooves of the carvings have been only slightly obliterated except in the linear figure or figures on the east and most exposed side. Directly over the large, elaborate double-headed figure which occupies most of the rock there seems to be a small human figure, the arms encircled over the head and head outlined, or two concentric circles and a dot with an outlined bar breaking in at the lower border of the circles and branching off into two curved lines at its other end. At first sight the large central figure appears to consist of two human figures back to back with symbols pendent between them. But in Hawaii and in the Marquesas the human figure carved in outline is represented face on, not in profile. In the Marquesas the sides of the body and the arms and legs are represented by double lines, in one group of petroglyphs (fig. 130, *e*). The small boulder which lay 15 yards east of the petroglyph boulder I am describing has a solitary human figure carved in exactly the manner of the Marquesan. Therefore, it would seem that the large double-headed figure is drawn full face. It should be observed that the left head is centrally located between the upraised arms. If the two figures were intended to be in profile, back to back, the heads should have been placed one on each shoulder. I believe, nevertheless, that the extra head is intended to show that two figures are represented—the other with its back against this. The separation at the buttocks supports the idea that this figure, instead of being one body with two heads, consists of two bodies in profile, back to back (except, of course, for the faces). But among Hawaiian petroglyphs the body represented full face is often shown thus separated (21, figs. 166, 17*e*). The pendent symbol consists of a tube swollen into a rounded bulb at the extremity and turning to the left at the lower end of the body. This tube enters the full length of the body and adheres to the right side. At the juncture of the right leg with the tube, the second part of the symbol commences, represented by a long, straight, suspended line, trifurcated at the end. This trifurcated line occurs among Hawaiian petroglyphs (21, p. 104, pl. 7, *A*) and probably represents the male sex organs. There is a possibility that this tube represents the navel cord and placenta. This stone may have been a sacred birth-stone.

Searching up and down this little valley and in the next valley west, the only other petroglyphs I saw were two solitary, small human figures, one on a small boulder just across the brook from the large petroglyph rock, and the other on another small boulder 3 yards farther east. The carving on the first is a linear figure, 16 inches high, deeply grooved; the head rests on the shoulders, the arms are at the sides, the legs are set at right angles, and the feet are bent in at right angles. (See fig. 129, *a*.)

On the upper face of the other rock is carved a human figure also 16 inches high, the grooves not so deep. The limbs are set at right angles and represented by two lines. The arms are held up. The sides of the body are doubly outlined, and no hands or feet show. The head and opposite extremity of the body are not so clearly defined, but the head seems to be a circle 2 inches in diameter and at the opposite end there is no symbol such as that on the large petroglyph boulder. (See fig. 129, *b*.)

Site 7. Marae several hundred yards up the plateau overlooking Auae.

Enclosing wall averages 2 feet in height. The enclosure is 84 feet long, 54 feet wide. It bears 40 degrees east of north. The court is loosely paved. The *ahu* is an earth-filled platform less than 1 foot high faced along the front with coral pieces set on

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edge. Three basalt uprights, each 2 feet high, are arranged along the front, and another upright of the same height stands on the back of the *ahu*. The *ahu* occupies the south end and is set off to the west side. It is 5 feet wide and stands 5 feet from the back wall. There is no worked stone in or about the structure.

Faaa District

Site 8. Ruin of a French blockhouse, on the site, so I was told, of an ancient native fortification, summit of a round hill east of Faaa Village and near the road. Presumably the series of three terraces, 3 to 8 feet high, cut around the seaward side of the hill and faced roughly with stone, indicate the extent of the native work. Several water-worn stones 2 inches in diameter, probably throwing stones, were found on the summit of the hill.

Site 9. Six or more ruins of dressed stone maraes dotting the gently rising land about 100 yards from the beach at Piafao (fig. 18).

The two uppermost maraes preserve their original form. (See fig. 18, *a*.) They lie with their *ahu* on the uphill end. The easternmost of the two has a court enclosure faced on the inside with dressed stone in the same manner as the outside. The upper courses of worked round stone have been pulled down, but many of these stones lie about the ruin. One stone firmly bedded in its original position in the middle of the court face of the east wall and in the first course of curbs has a groove around one end. (See fig. 18, *a, d*.) At this same point but against the outer face of the wall another grooved stone, head upright, stood half buried. This may have been in the first course of curbs which is here missing. The court of the eastern marae is carefully paved with flags at the outer end. The curbs are of red tuff, basalt, and coral, in no regular order. In the western marae all except the first outer course of curbs of the enclosing wall and two courses of worked round stones of the front of the *ahu* have been removed. Lying on the little shrine to the west was a circular, flat stone sinker 3 inches in diameter, the center pierced with a hole.

Site 10. Marae (fig. 19) and petroglyph boulder on a hilltop 2 miles inland from Piafao.

The marae, which is just below the summit of the hill, overlooks the main valley. The court is simply a stone-faced terrace unenclosed by walls, though a retaining wall extends along the back where it is set into the slope of the hill. At the inland end of the court stands a low *ahu* faced along the front and sides with thin pieces of coral on edge.

The petroglyph boulder is on the slope below the marae and 50 yards from it. It lies among other smaller boulders which have no trace of carving. The seaward face of the petroglyph boulder measures 12 feet long, 5 feet high, and 6 feet wide. At one end a large face of two eyes and a nose is pecked in clear though shallow grooves. The nose is stylistic and very much after the Marquesan convention. The eyes are two concentric circles with a dot in the middle. (See fig. 128, *b*.) To the left of this petroglyph and 6 feet away are traces of another like it, and below this last is a human figure represented by simple lines.

Punaauia District

Site 11. Ruins of an *ahu*, near the 13-kilometer mark and between the road and the shore.

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The platform is between 69 and 74 feet long and 23 feet wide. It extends parallel to the shore in a direction 20 degrees west of north. There is no trace whatever of worked stone. At no point is the pile now higher than 2.5 feet. Lying prone against the inland face of the *ahu* and midway between its ends is a basalt slab 3.5 feet long by 2 feet wide.

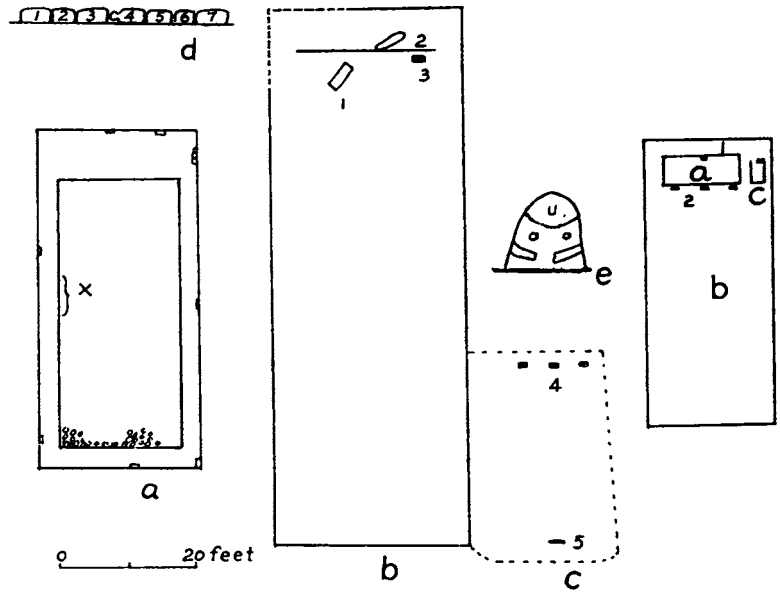

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FIGURE 18.—Two maraes at Pifao, Faaa District (Site 9). *a*, eastern marae, 24 by 50 feet. *b*, western marae, 29 by 80 feet: 1, rectangular slab 2.5 feet long; 2, fallen natural stone 2 feet long; 3, pointed slab upright 1.5 feet high. *c*, shrine: 4, uprights 1.5 feet high; 5, slab *tiʻi* shown in *e*. *d*, first course of dressed stone on inner face of enclosing wall of marae *a*, at *x*; 1, 3, 6, curbs of red tuff, 2, coral, 4, basalt encircled by a groove, 5, 7, basalt. *e*, slab image 18 inches high carved on court face, nose in outline, neck encircled by a groove, nipples and arms in low relief.

FIGURE 19.—Plan of marae inland from Pifao, Faaa (Site 10): *a*, *ahu* less than 1 foot high; *b*, platform terrace 19 by 42 feet; *c*, platform framed by stones on edge and bearing an upright 1.5 feet high; 1, upright 3 feet high; 2, three uprights each 1 foot high.

Site 12. Marae Taputapuatea, Punaauia Point (fig. 20).

A vestige of the pavements alone remains. A rectangular area 240 by 160 feet was more or less completely paved. At the northeast corner is a section of fine undisturbed pavement and at the southwest corner an undisturbed piece of flag pavement. A French blockhouse and fortification walls were erected on the site of the marae in June, 1846 (13, p. 258). Into their construction went the stones of the marae. Curbstones and squared, round-faced stones from the marae may be seen on the inside facing of the walls of the blockhouse ruin and scattered widely over the site of the marae. Although I studied the site carefully on three different occasions I failed to find a certain clue that would show where the *ahu* stood. A hundred yards south of the blockhouse were four

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or five very large squared, round-faced marae stones that had served as foundation stones for a frame house long since gone. Their exterior faces measured 12 by 18 inches, by far the greatest measurements I have ever noted for worked round stones. Two of these stones are now in the Papeete Museum.

Inland from this marae, about 400 yards distant and on the property of Mr. Sage, are the ruins of a small marae, evidently of the inland type. Several uprights are in place, and some foundation stones of the walls. No worked stones were seen.

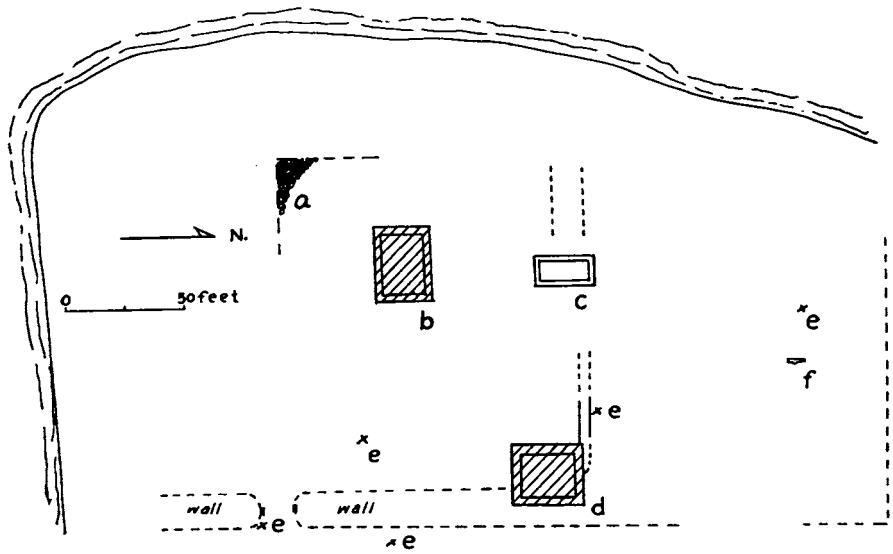

FIGURE 20.—Marae Taputapuatea, Punaauia Point (Site 12): *a*, pavement of flagstones; *b*, ruin of house walls of masonry; *c*, modern pigpen; *d*, French blockhouse erected in 1846; *e*, worked marae stones; *f*, large squared coral block, possibly in place.

Site 13. Marae Tetiapa, on land of same name, a few yards south of the chief's house at Punaauia Village. The *ahu*, consisting of two or three steps, is faced with unworked round stones. The enclosing wall of the court is faced with unworked angular stones and has a flat face exposed.

Site 14. Marae Taumeha, on the ridge above the chief's house in Punaauia. Said to be a large marae in a good state of preservation.

Site 15. Marae Tahiti or Te-ara-o-Tahiti, about 1 mile in the valley of Punaruu and on the lower slopes of the north side (fig. 21).

A small marae surrounded by numerous terraces. It is quite likely that the marae in this vicinity (pl. 10, *B*) described by Captain Wilson (58, pp. 210-211) was located on the level land abutting this marae. Wilson's marae was undoubtedly the principal marae of Punaauia, called marae Tahiti, or marae Punaauia (25).

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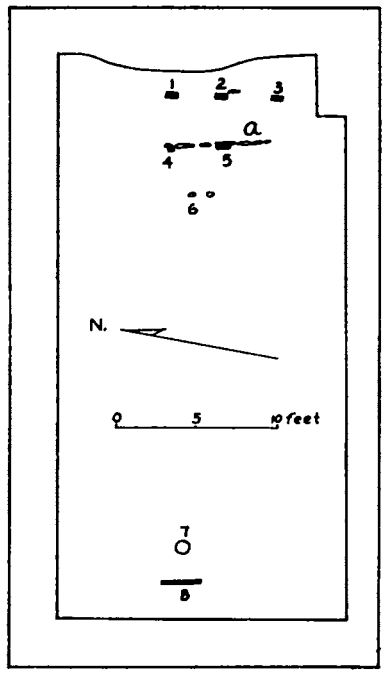
Site 16. Fortifications (*pare*), 4 miles within Punaruu Valley.

Where two sharp spurs come down opposite each other, leaving room for the stream and a narrow strip of land on each side, the ruins of a rough stone wall mark the fortifications which blocked the trail into the interior. From the summit of the bluffs on each side stones were hurled down on those storming the pass. It was at this *pare* that the natives of Punaauia held out against Pomare in July, 1802 (17, vol. 11, p. 58).



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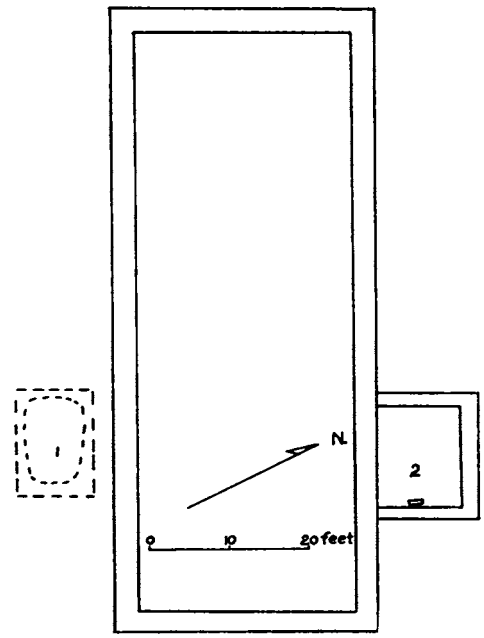

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FIGURE 21.—Marae Tahiti, or Te-ara-o-Tahiti (?), Punaauia (Site 15), 23 feet wide, 41 feet long, walls 0.5 to 3.5 feet high, court paved: *a*, *ahu* 0.5 foot high, partly faced with thin pieces of coral set on edge; 1-5, columnar uprights 18, 27, 19, 12, and 20 inches high, respectively; 6, fallen monument 2 feet long; 7, hole 1 foot in diameter, 1 foot deep; 8, basalt slab set on edge, about 1 foot high.

FIGURE 22.—Marae at Apiriamore, Tetamanu Plateau, Punaruu (Site 17), 33 feet wide, 78 feet long, court paved, walls 3 to 4 feet high: 1, area enclosed by loosely heaped stones; 2, enclosure 2 feet high with a single basalt upright on floor.

Site 17. Maraes at Apiriamore, Tetamanu Plateau, Punaruu Valley (fig. 22).

Near the entrance of the trail onto the plateau are two maraes. One was pointed out to Handy as the marae of Tuatau; the other was pointed out to me as this marae. Tuatau was a famous warrior (32, p. 144), killed in battle at Tautira. His skull was then put in his marae. The first marae is a paved enclosure about 20 by 50 feet, having a low paved *ahu* at one end and thin coral slabs set along its front. A basalt slab upright is standing against the back of the *ahu* nearly in the middle; a basalt prism stands at the

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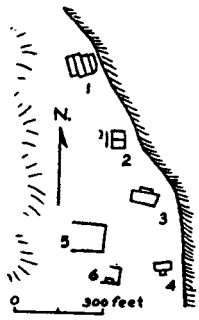
middle front of the *ahu*. The ground around the marae is also paved. The second marae (?), about 300 yards farther inland, is a larger enclosure with no trace of an *ahu* or any uprights. The walls are faced with irregular stones having a flat face exposed. A small adjacent enclosure (fig. 22) has a single basalt slab upright. The neighborhood is dotted with stone-faced terraces, low platforms, and low enclosures called "house enclosures" by the natives. (Record by Handy and Emory.)



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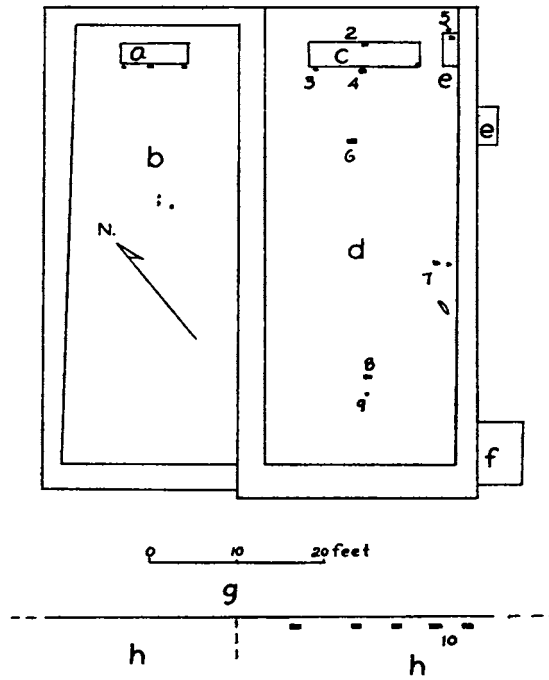

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FIGURE 23.—Sketch map of ruins at Urufaro, Tetamanu Plateau, Punaruu (Site 18): 1-4, maraes; 5, plot enclosed on three sides by irregular wall 2 feet high; 6, house site.

FIGURE 24.—Plan of maraes (fig. 23, no. 2), Urufaro: *a*, *ahu* 8 inches high, paved with small stones and faced with basalt columns on edge; *b*, court covered with stones and enclosed by wall 2 feet high; *c*, *ahu* 15 inches high, paved, faced with basalt columns on edge; *d*, court covered with small stones, enclosed on three sides by wall 1 to 2 feet high; *e*, platform 1 foot high, faced along front with coral slabs set on edge; *f*, low stone platform; *g*, level ground; *h*, terrace 2 feet high, faced with rough stone; 25 feet back of this terrace rises another, 2 feet high along the front; 1-10, basalt uprights, heights respectively 8, 15, 6, 12, 12, 5, 18, 4, 6, and 12 to 30 inches.

Site 18. Nine maraes at village site at Urufaro, on north edge of Tetamanu Plateau (figs. 23-27).

Two hours' walk from the point where the trail first mounts the plateau and 50 minutes distant from the crater swamp called Vaiaere, the maraes are located on the very edge of the bluff above Punaruu Stream (fig. 23). The knoll just back of the maraes has several scattered walls and house sites. Plans and details of the maraes are given in

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figures 24-27. One enclosure (fig. 27, *d*) has indications of a pavement at the west end, but the opposite end is bare ground. The wall of the west end is constructed of large irregular blocks in a flat facing on both the inner and outer faces. The top of this wall is flat and horizontal, and the space between the two top facing courses of flat stones is paved with fine stones. (See pl. 2, *B*.) The two east corners are built up with blocks that are probably partly worked. The east end wall and side walls are of ordinary rough stone.

Handy made a complete set of plans of these maraes which I have used to check mine. Handy's guides to this site told him the natives of the region went to an open space below Mount Orofena for their entertainments by the trail leading inland.

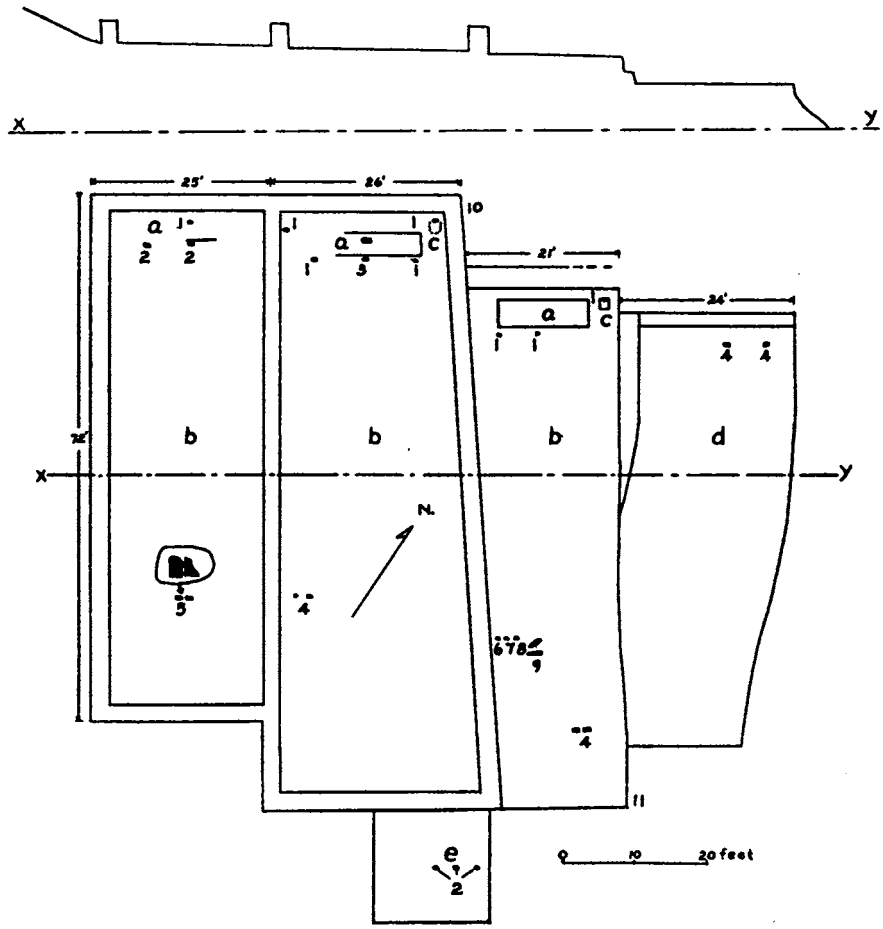

FIGURE 25.—Plan of maraes (fig. 23, no. 1), Urufaro: *a*, *ahu* 0.5 to 1 foot high, faced along front with thin pieces of coral set on edge; *b*, court covered with rough stones; *c*, platform 0.5 feet high, faced with blocks set on edge; *d*, court paved with flagstones; *e*, stone platform 1 foot high; 1-8, basalt uprights: 1-4, 6 to 10 inches high; 5, 18 inches high, the inset shows their outline; 6, 5 inches high; 7, 6 inches high; 8, 14 inches high; 9, two fallen uprights; 10, corner built squarely with unworked stone; 11, corner faced with artificially squared blocks; *x-y*, cross section.

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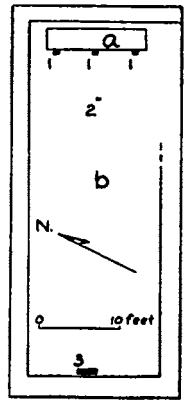

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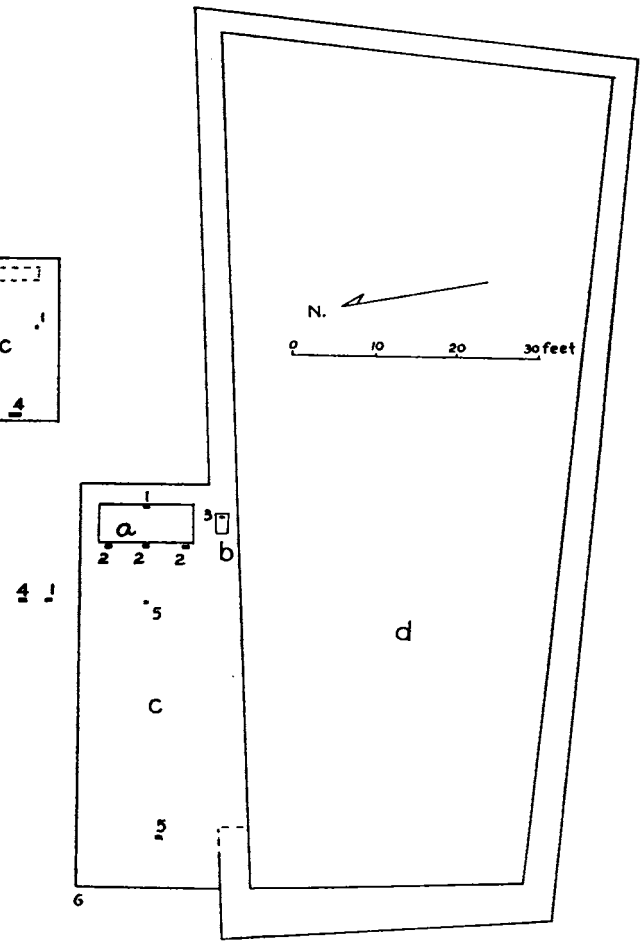

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FIGURE 26.—Marae (fig. 23, no. 4) at Urufaro, 20 by 48 feet, walls 2 to 3 feet high: *a, ahu* 8 inches high, paved, thin pieces of coral set against court face; *b*, paved court; *c*, adjoining marae, stone platform 12 by 20 feet, 1 foot high; 1-4, basalt uprights, heights respectively 8, 6, 22, and 12 inches.

FIGURE 27.—Marae (fig. 23, no. 3) at Urufaro, 106 feet long; *a, ahu* paved with small stones and faced with single course of basalt columns on edge, against which rest thin pieces of coral; *b*, platform 5 inches high framed by four basalt columns on edge and filled with small stones; *c*, stone platform 2 to 3 feet high, paved with small, rough stones; *d*, enclosure with indications of pavement at west end, walls 3 to 4.5 feet high; 1-5, basalt uprights, heights respectively 8, 9, 13, 10, and 8 inches; 5, 21 inches wide; 6, corner foundation stone, apparently squared.

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Site 19. Marae Rua, at Farepapa, (fig. 28).

According to Handy's informants, this marae belonged to a famous warrior by the name of Rua. (See 17, vol. 2, p. 52.) The marae is built on gently sloping ground not more than 100 yards from the lagoon. It is almost certain that only two steps existed on the inner face and three steps on the outer face of the *ahu*. An unusual feature is the pavement adjoining the outer face of the *ahu*. Several graves, each marked by a low rectangular platform and an upright headstone and set about with ornamental shrubs, are now located on the court.

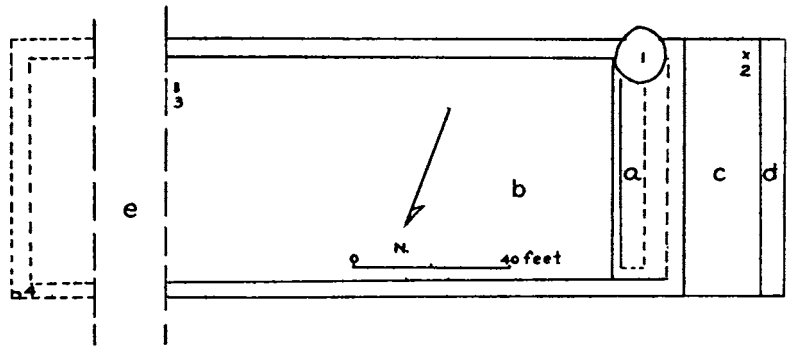

FIGURE 28.—Marae Rua (Site 19): *a, ahu* 7.5 feet high, first step on inner face 5.5 feet high, second 2 feet higher, facing of second step has first course of coral blocks and upper courses of unworked rounded stones, facing of first step has these stones except in fourth course from top, which forms band of squared, round-faced stones; *b*, court paved with large round stones and encircled by wall 6 feet thick, 3 feet high, of stream boulders; *c*, low platform or pavement of large stream stones; *d*, step to *c*, faced with squared coral blocks; *e*, government road; 1, aged banyan tree; 2, squared basalt blocks on edge showing just above ground; 3, basalt upright 28 inches high, 2 feet wide, 8 inches thick, flat on top; 4, large squared cornerstones of red tuff.

PAEA DISTRICT

Site 20. Marae Marae-Taata, situated on land which, according to the land court record dated 1865, is called Vaiteahao, in the vicinity of Pereaitu, Papehue (fig. 29).

A group of three enclosed maraes lying side by side and at right angles to the beach, and a detached rectangular platform seaward of them. The group lies 220 yards inland of the belt road and 460 yards from the lagoon. The east and west maraes (figs. 11, 29) have the low inland type of *ahu* faced with a single course of coral curbs. The middle marae has the regular coastal *ahu* closing one end of a court. The outer facing of the *ahu* is completely gone and almost no worked stones lie in the vicinity. The middle marae was added later to the east marae, as is proved by the overlapping of the west end of the court wall of the middle marae on the southwest corner of the east marae (fig. 29, *e*). The falling away of the upper courses of the dressed stone of the court wall of the middle marae has revealed the original outer facing of the court wall of the east marae. (See pl. 4, *B*.) The enclosure attached to the west marae is an unusual feature but apparently originally belonging to it, for the outer facing of the court wall can not be traced across the juncture with the pen walls.

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The detached platform on the seaward side of the three maraes faces on an area paved with flags and pebbles. I take it to be the *ahu* of a fourth marae even though the great proportion of the width to the length is most unusual and the lack of an enclosing wall is not normal. One might take it for a house platform were it not that house platforms such as this have not been found on the coastal plain of Tahiti. It has, rather, the length, width, and height of an archery platform, but it does not taper at one end. It is a unique structure but to be classed as a marae because some of the stones of

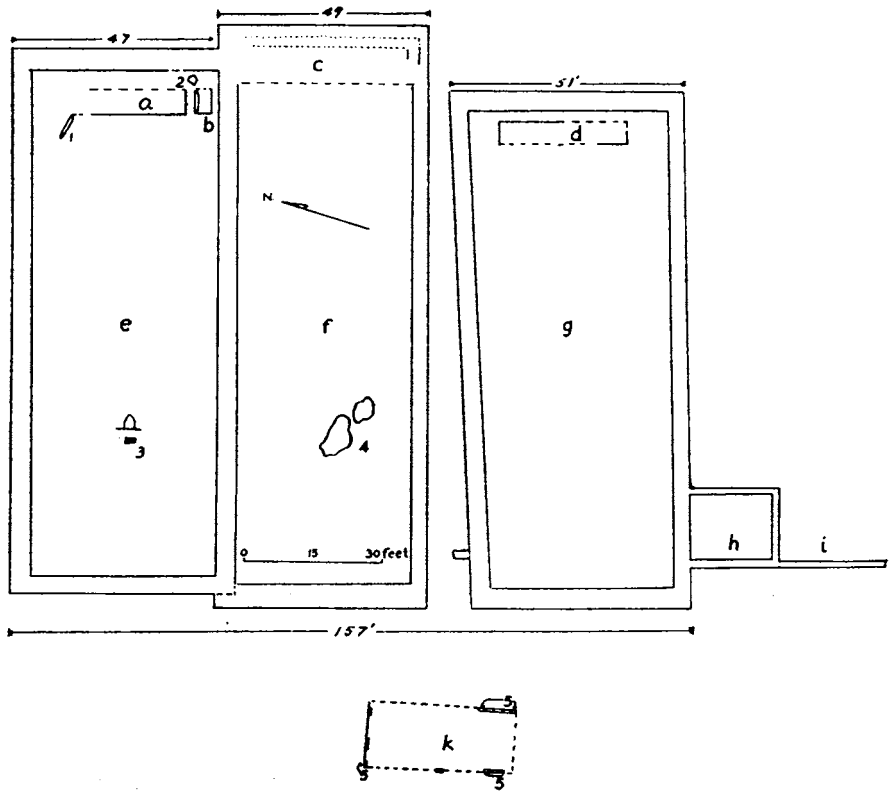

FIGURE 29.—Marae Marae-Taata (Site 20): *a, ahu* 1.5 feet high faced along front with coral curbs; *b,* platform 1.5 feet high framed with basalt columns on edge; *c, ahu* now 8 feet high, originally of three steps on outside face and ends, on south end first step 3 feet high, 2 feet wide, second step 2 feet high, 2.5 feet wide, third step 3 feet high, dotted lines represent inner facings of steps, original outer facing has disappeared; *d, ahu* 1 foot high faced with one course of squared coral curbs completely around; *e,* unpaved court enclosed by wall 2 to 5 feet high, no worked stone, facings flat (pl. 13, *B*): *f,* partly paved court enclosed on north by wall of north marae, on south and west by wall faced on outside by worked, rounded stones (pl. 4, *A*); *g,* court enclosed by wall 2 to 4 feet high; *i,* wall 3 feet high; *k, ahu* 34 feet long, 15 feet wide, 2 feet 7 inches high, faced with first course of coral and basalt blocks, some worked round stone in upper courses, area paved in front of *ahu;* 1, basalt dike 5 feet 5 inches long; 2, basalt slab, 2.5 feet wide; 3, rough basalt slab 2.5 feet high, 2.5 feet wide, 1.5 feet thick (outline shown); 4, *atae* (*Ceodes* species) trees; 5, coral blocks.

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the first course of the facing are squared. If Marae-Taata is the marae at which Captain Cook witnessed a ceremony of human sacrifice in 1877, which I believe it is (25), then this platform is the one which figures in Webber's drawing (pl. 9) and is certainly the *ahu* of a marae.

Site 21. Marae 300 yards northeast of Marae-Taata, Papehue.

An inland marae, 37 feet wide and about 100 feet long, and with an *ahu* 10 inches high faced with coral slabs on edge, along the front and sides only, however. The back is retained by a course of irregular basalt stone. At the outside southeast corner of the court enclosure a cornerstone 3 feet high rises above the general height of the wall. It is unworked but selected because of the two faces meeting at right angles. An upright 3 feet long lies prone on the center, and an upright on each side stands in front of the *ahu*.

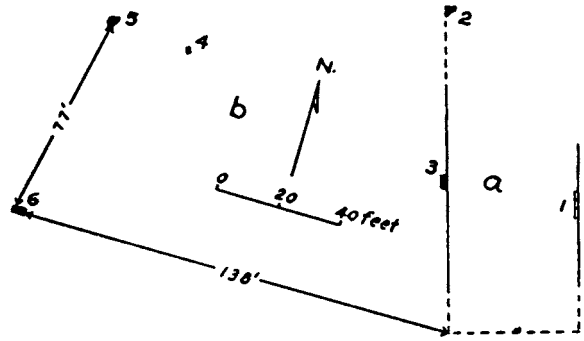

FIGURE 30.—Marae Narii or Taiaore, at Orofere stream, Paea (Site 23): *a*, pile of *ahu* stones forming pyramidal mass 18 feet high, originally stepped and faced with squared coral blocks and worked round-faced stones, fill of coral and basalt stones; *b*, paved court originally enclosed by wall; 1, three squared coral blocks of first step of *ahu*, in place, one measures 16 inches high, 24 inches long; 2, embedded basalt stone 16 inches high; 3-4, basalt uprights 2.5 feet high; 5, embedded basalt stone 2.5 feet high squared like a cornerstone; 6, firmly embedded slab 3.5 feet high; measurements between slabs 5 and 6 are exact, all others approximate.

Site 22. Rows of stones, inland 300 yards from the belt road opposite Brook's residence in Paea, and at the juncture of the coastal plain with the foothills.

The rows, 28 yards long, of loose stones, lie parallel to each other and to the shore, 4 feet apart. Each row is 2 feet wide. They extend over an area 64 yards wide. The ground here is naturally almost bare of stones, hence these rows, which are of unworked stone laid carelessly in a single course, are not the result of clearing the land for agricultural purposes. Several natural but very shallow drainage beds run through the area, so it is not level. The rows of stones dip to cross these drainage beds. About 50 yards distant and at the foot of the rising land are the ruins of a small marae. Above the marae are some ancient house terraces and walls. The purpose of the rows of stones is unknown.

Site 23. Marae Narii or Taiaore (fig. 30), situated on the north bank of Orofere Stream and directly on the shore.

According to Madame Marau-Taaroa this is marae Narii near which her great-

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granduncle, Opuhara, was killed in battle in 1815. Mr. Orsmond Walker, making inquiries on the spot in 1926, was told by two well-known old men of Paea that the name was marae Taiore and that marae Narii existed not far from this site. I have heard the marae called Piihoro, which is probably a modern invention. The walls of the court have been removed, and the general condition of this marae, which at one time must have been quite imposing, is poor.

Site 24. Marae on land Ahotu (fig. 32).

The marae, 58 by 140 feet, stands on level land 400 yards from the sea. The *ahu* consists of three steps. The enclosing wall of the court makes a fourth step along the two ends and outer face. The court is partly paved with flags. The entire facing of the *ahu* and the outer facing of the court walls was originally of worked stone. The long axis of the court is parallel to the shore. A few feet from the southwest corner lay a large squared block of tuff that must have served as a cornerstone.

Site 25. Marae Teua, 1 mile from the sea on south side of Tahua-iti (Orofere) Valley.

A paved terrace 50 by 30 feet, at right angles to the slope and enclosed on the front and sides by a vertical, smooth wall. The front corners are finished with worked stone. (See pl. 2, *A*.) No uprights were to be found on the terrace, or traces of an *ahu*. Next to this enclosure, however, are other enclosures and terraces in a poor state of preservation, one of which may have been a marae.

Site 26. Paved platform, at Amou, 2.5 miles within Orofere Valley, along the east bank of the stream.

A great platform 101 feet long and at least 70 feet wide, lying northeast and southwest. The southeast face has a first course of squared stones, some of red tuff, others of gray basalt, and at least as many as four upper courses of wrought round-faced stones on the downslope end. At irregular intervals the round-faced stones are of red tuff; in the second course from the bottom they average six stones apart. No enclosing wall, uprights, or *ahu* could be discovered, or any maraes in the vicinity, though walls and terraces adjoin the inland side of the platform.

Site 27. Marae at Arataua, Orofere Valley, a quarter of a mile above Site 26.

At a narrow section of the valley, built up close under the cliff, is a paved place with several uprights and a high flanking terrace smoothly paved. Behind and above the terrace is another walled platform fitted to the hillside and built so as to utilize large fallen chunks of stone. (Record by Handy.)

Site 28. Taro (?) terraces and marae half a mile above Omou, Orofere Valley.

A terrace, supporting other terraces, runs along each bank of the stream. These appear to have served for the growing of taro. Behind the first narrow terrace on the southeast side of the stream bed rises a series of three low terraces about 60 feet long and 30 feet wide. In a corner of the lowest is a pit 4 feet in diameter, lined around the rim with stones. The uppermost terrace has an *ahu* outlined by thin, uncut slabs of coral; along the front of the *ahu* are a number of uprights. Inland of this marae are numerous low platforms and paved terraces which it was impossible to follow out while covered with bush. (Record by Handy.)

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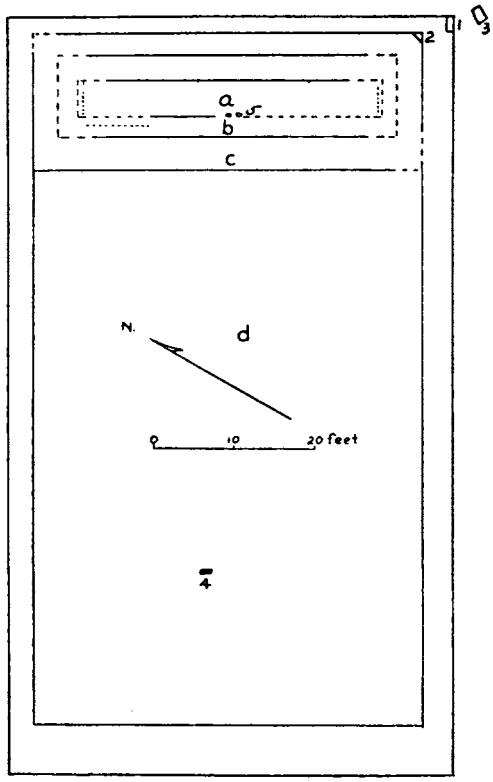
Site 29. Marae either called Arahurahu or situated on a land called by that name, nearly 1 mile from the sea at the mouth of Faaite Valley and 23 kilometers from Papeete (figs. 31, 33).

The best-preserved coastal marae so far discovered, hence studied carefully to determine its original condition. The ruin had deteriorated appreciably between 1925 and the time of my last visit in 1931, when I was accompanied by Mr. H. D. Skinner of Otago University. Together, we checked my observations made five years before. The round-fronted stones which form the facing of all but the lowest course of the outer face of the



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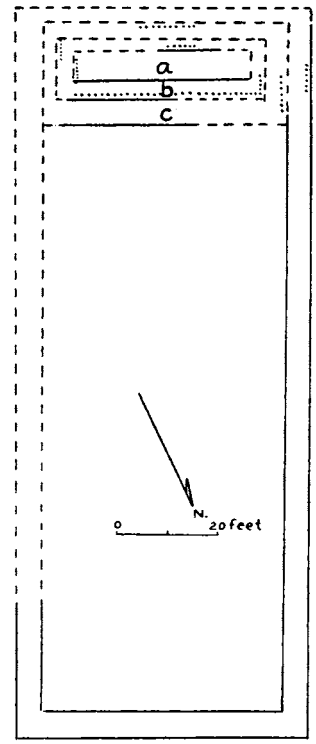

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FIGURE 31.—Marae Arahurahu, Paea (Site 29), length 93 feet, width 55 feet; *a*, top step of *ahu*, 6 inches above *b*; *b*, step 3 feet above *c*; *c*, step 6 feet above court, 3 feet above height of walls which run around ends and opposite side of *ahu*; *d*, paved court, at least 1 foot above level of ground outside; 1, 2, dressed cornerstones of basalt; 3, squared block of red tuff 30 by 16 by 14 inches; 4, basalt slab upright 2 feet high, 1.5 feet thick; 5, two squared coral blocks, firmly embedded in place; dotted lines indicate inner facings observed in place.

FIGURE 32.—Marae at Ahotu, Paea, Tahiti (Site 24): Length 140 feet, width 38 feet, all outer and inner facings of *ahu* are worked stone; *a*, top of *ahu*, 6 inches above *b*; *b*, step 3 feet above *c*; *c*, step 6 feet above court; inner, rough retaining walls of *ahu* indicated by dotted lines were observed in place.

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enclosing walls and the outer face and sides of the *ahu* and its steps on these sides, are bonded, that is, a stone of an upper course lies across the joint between two stones of the course below. (See pl. 6, *B*.) The second, third, and fourth steps of the outer face of the *ahu* have no coral in the first course, nor did we locate coral in the first step, though it may be at present buried there. The coral band which forms the first course of the inner face and ends of the *ahu* was exposed about 6 inches and buried an equal distance in the step below. The middle step of the court face has a first course of coral blocks, and the top step seems to have had only this course of blocks along the court face, for the top of this step is level and smoothly paved with small stones.

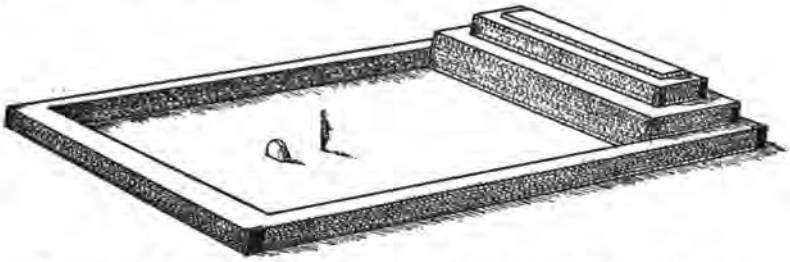

FIGURE 33.—Reconstruction of marae Arahurahu ruin, Paea (Site 29).

PAPARA DISTRICT

Site 30. Marae Mataoa, east of Apomaoro Stream.

Founded by Teva, who transported his stone seat from marae Farepua in Vaiari District (42, p. 14). The *ahu* lies parallel to the shore, the long axis east and west. A large, squared basalt stone marks the southeast corner. The two walls meeting at it are faced with a first course of coral, red tuff, and basalt rocks (arranged without order of sequence) about 18 inches high, and upper courses of worked, round-faced stones. The *ahu* ruin has a width of 120 feet and a length of 180 feet, but at the western end it runs into an elevated sand bank where its further continuation may be concealed for some distance. (Record by Handy.)

Site 31. Marae Mahaiatea, on the end of Mahaiatea Point, Papara (figs. 7, 34; pls. 5, *A*, 11).

The largest marae in Tahiti. Erected between 1766 and 1768 by Purea for her son Teriirere, heir to the high chieftaincy of Papara. The plan can be drawn with fair accuracy from the descriptions and measurements of Banks (2, pp. 102-104), Cook (12, pp. 83-84), and Wilson (58, pp. 207-208), supplemented by Handy's observations in 1923. The length of the *ahu* was 267 feet as given by Banks and Cook, 260 feet as given by Wilson; the width was 71 feet as given by Banks, 87 feet as given by Cook, and 94 feet as given by Wilson. Banks and Cook mention 11 steps, Banks saying that each step was 4 feet high and that the height was therefore 44 feet; Cook says that each step was about 4 feet high and the breadth 4 feet 7 inches, but that the steps decreased both in height and in breadth to the top. Wilson states that the lowest step was 6 feet high and the others about 5 feet, and that there was "a flight of ten steps quite round it." Notice that the total height measured by Banks (44 feet) and Wilson (51 feet) is in fairly close agreement.

If marae Mahaiatea followed the usual plan of maraes as Banks says it did, there would be one extra step on the outer face and on the ends of the *ahu*, formed by the continuation of the court wall around it, so Wilson would be right in counting 10 steps

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from the court side, and Banks at the same time would be right if he counted 11 steps from the outer side; also, Banks' first step would appear about equal with the others, and Wilson's would be higher, which is as they report it.

Following the usual plan of the coastal marae, the lowest step on the ends of the *ahu* would be the height and the breadth of the enclosing wall of the court (or 4 feet high, 4 feet 7 inches thick), and the length of the *ahu* would be the width of the enclosure. Therefore Banks' 110 paces for the end of the enclosure opposite the *ahu* must have equalled about 267 or 270 feet; his 118 paces for the sides of the enclosure therefore should equal about 290 feet. Cook gives the dimensions of this piece of ground enclosed on the east side as 354 by 360 feet, evidently a loose and erroneous calculation from pacing, for one of these dimensions must have been not more than 270 feet. The familiar illustration of this marae (pl. 11) given by Wilson, in having a low wooden fence surrounding the *ahu*, does not agree with the description of the walled-in court, the *ahu* constituting one side of the court. The fence has been put in by the engraver and the stone wall omitted. A section of the original facing is preserved today (pl. 5, *A*).

The first course of each step was composed of squared coral blocks, the upper courses of worked, round-faced stones; the corner stones, however, were of basalt, one measured by Banks (2, p. 103) being 4 feet 7 inches long, 2 feet 4 inches high. One of the coral blocks measured by him was 3.5 feet long, 2.5 feet high. Hawkesworth, compiling the accounts of Banks and Cook (31, vol. 2, p. 167), in order probably to meet Cook's

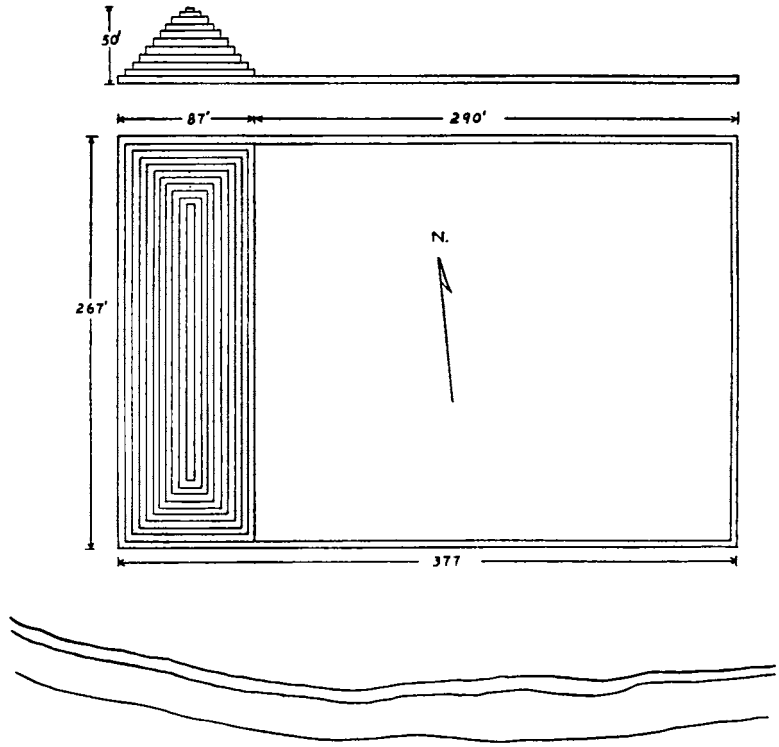

FIGURE 34.—Marae Mahaiatea, Mahaiatea Point, Papara District (Site 31), based on data recorded by Captain Cook, Sir Joseph Banks, and Captain Wilson: court 267 feet wide, 377 feet long; *ahu* 45 to 50 feet high; compass bearing taken on intact outer wall of *ahu* by E. S. C. Handy.

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impossible figure of 250 feet for the length of the top step, takes the liberty of saying that the steps at the sides of the pyramid were "broader than those at the ends, so that it terminated not in a square of the same figure as the base, but in a ridge like the roof of a house." Wilson (58, p. 207) gives the width of the top step as 6 feet, the length as 180 feet, which would be true if the steps were of equal width on all sides.

The court was paved with large flagstones, "notwithstanding which pavement (2, p. 104) several banana and ironwood trees grew within the enclosure."

Right next to Mahaiatea was the small but ancient marae of Tetooarai. Shortly before 1900 this was, according to Baessler (3, p. 247), better preserved than that of Mahaiatea. Wilson (58, p. 208) describes it:

"Sir Joseph [Banks] says, 'that at a small distance to the westward of this edifice [Mahaiatea] was another paved square, that contained several small stages called ewattas [*e fata*] by the natives, which appeared to be altars whereon they placed the offerings to their gods;' . . . My guide led to this spot, which appears also to have gone much to ruin: he showed me the altar, which is a heap of stones, . . . He then went a few yards back, and laying hold of an upright stone, like a grave-stone, he knelt. . . ."

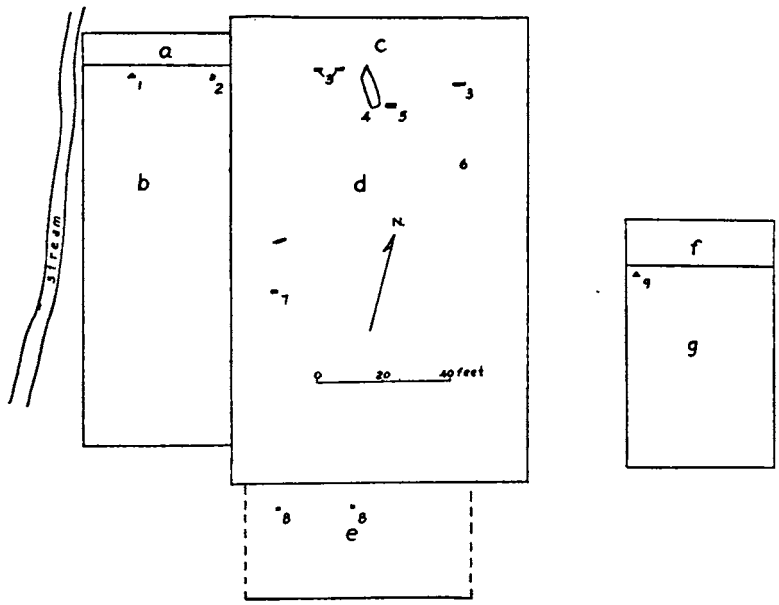

FIGURE 35.—Sketch plan of marae Taputuarai and Temoe (Manunu?), the marae on the east at Amo, Papara (Site 32): *a*, an *ahu*, a rough pile 10 feet high, having cornerstones and facing of stream pebbles 4 inches in diameter; *b*, court paved with pebbles and enclosed by wall; *c*, location of *ahu*; *d*, court, 90 by 140 feet, paved with large rough boulders and enclosed by low, heavy wall; 1, basalt prism 19 inches high, 6 inches thick; 2, basalt column 18 inches high; 3, thin slabs of coral 6 inches high, 18 inches long, 1 inch thick; 4, natural basalt block 14 feet long, pointed at one end, lying prostrate; 5, tilting basalt upright 5 feet long; 6, two small pits suggestive of ovens; 7, basalt upright 2 feet high, 12 inches thick; *e*, area of irregular outline paved with large cobblestones; 8, basalt column 1 foot high, 3 inches thick; *f*, *ahu*; *g*, court paved and enclosed as *d*; 9, pointed basalt prism.

Site 32. Marae Taputuarai (fig. 35), in a small subdistrict of Papara called Amo, and a mile from the sea (a small road going to it branches off

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from the government road half a mile east of the Salmon house). In tradition it is the original marae of Papara (42, p. 17). The maraes consist of two adjoining enclosures. A smaller marae, Temoo, lies 30 feet to the east. Marau writes Handy that Temoo was the guardian spirit of marae Manunu founded with a stone from Manunu, Huahine, date uncertain. Record by Handy.

Site 33. Marae on slopes 300 yards inland of Taravao Village (fig. 36).

The marae lies with the long axis of its court along the slope of the hill. Attached to the east side is a low terrace, and attached to this terrace, a small enclosure. The floors of marae, terrace, and enclosures are leveled by excavating slightly at the upslope end and filling on the downslope end. The inland end of the marae serves at the same time as a facing for a level terrace 4 feet wide. Thirty yards east of the marae is a terrace 15 by 22 feet, less than 1 foot high. In the middle of its outer end stood an upright 1 foot high leaning outward. Bits of coral lay scattered over the terrace. Adjoining this terrace on the east is a rectangular area 6 by 10 feet marked off by a single line of stones embedded on edge. This terrace to the east seems to have been a house site converted into a modern burial ground. There is no worked stone in any of the structures.

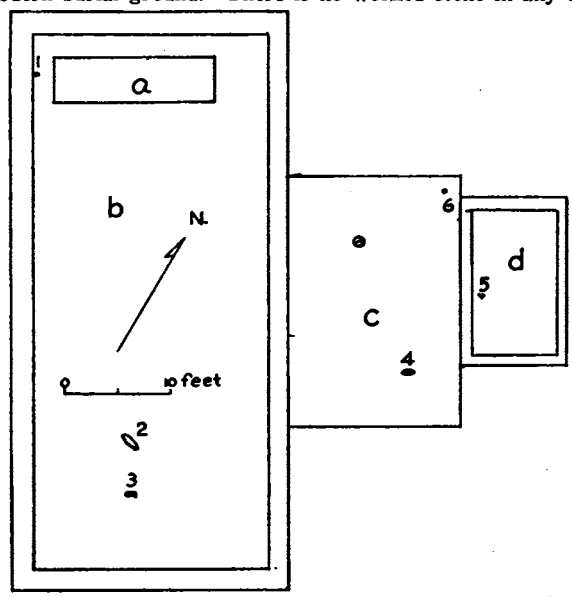

FIGURE 36.—Marae at Taravao (Site 33): *a, ahu,* earth-filled, faced with thin pieces of coral on edge, none more than 10 inches high; *b,* unpaved court 25 feet wide, 50 feet long, enclosed by walls nowhere more than 1 foot high inside; *c,* terrace 16 feet wide, 2 feet high; *d,* enclosure 10 feet wide, 1 foot high; 1-6, basalt uprights 1, 3, 4, 1 foot high; 2, fallen; 5, 6, 0.5 foot high.

VAIRAO DISTRICT

Site 34. Marae Nuutere (fig. 37). The marae consists of a great pavement having set on one corner two adjoining small *ahu,* each encased in narrow limestone slabs placed on edge. No evidence of an enclosing wall could be found. Record by Handy.

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Teahupoo District

Site 35. Marae Matahihae.

Almost nothing remains of this head marae of Teahupoo district. There are two boulder walls coming down to the water's edge on either side of a broad pavement. Whether or not these are the original bordering walls of the court is not certain. I was able to find several scattered, worked, round-faced stones, which is proof that this marae was of the usual coastal type. Embedded in the pavement and projecting above it at several places are squared blocks of tuff. A study of their position, which is undoubtedly that of cornerstones, should give a clue to the original layout of the marae.

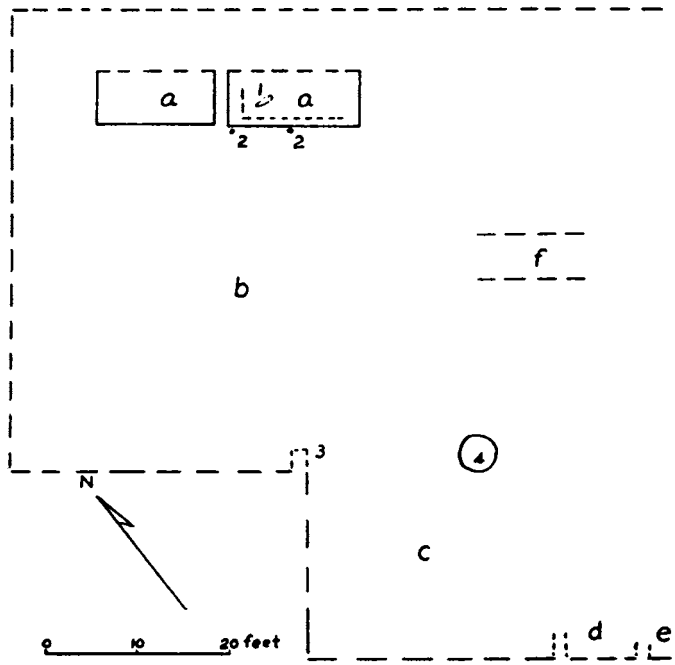

Figure 37.—Marae Nuutere, Vairao (Site 34): *a, ahu* 1 foot high, earth-filled, faced along front and sides with narrow limestone slabs set on edge, dotted line indicates line of basalt stones embedded on edge in earth fill; *b,* large raised area of stone, roughly rectangular, ranging in height from 1 to 3 feet; *c,* extension eastward and southward of *b* with passageway between at 3, and banyan tree at 4; *d, e,* vestiges of adjoining terraces; *f,* elevation made with large stones, 1 foot above surrounding area; 1, fallen basalt slab; 2, basalt uprights 1 foot high.

Site 36. Marae Tiria, near Hotopuu, now a pyramidal pile of coral and stone, 6 feet high, parallel to the shore, on the extremity of a small point of land on which stand a very old ironwood tree, the prostrate decaying trunk of another, and an old *tamanu* tree. (Record by Handy.)

Site 37. Marae Tipuu on land Raheru, Vaipiere, half a mile from the sea (fig. 39). A marae of the inland type.

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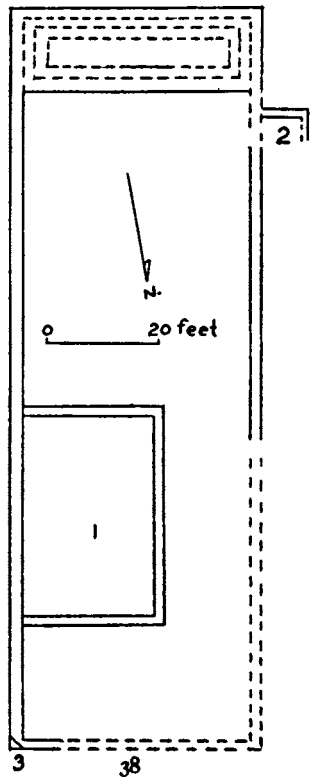
Site 38. Marae Ahu Rau, Hotopuu, built in exactly the same way as Marae Tiria, and also marked by an old ironwood and a *tamanu* tree. (Record by Handy.)

I visited both these maraes and was given the name of one as Marae Tufaarahia, and of its land, Ahiahi.



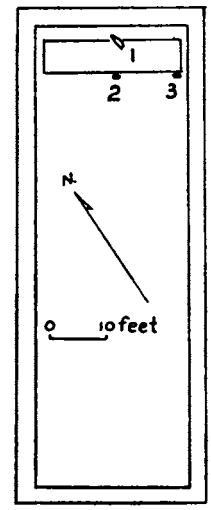


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FIGURE 38.—Marae at Ahui, Pueu District (Site 40): width 66 feet, length 195 feet; on outside face of *ahu* clearly three steps and probably a fourth, averaging 3 feet high and 3 feet wide except for probable fourth step; 1, paved enclosure, walls not more than 1.5 feet high and very roughly constructed; 2, ruin of a pen 2 feet high; 3, squared cornerstone 2 feet high.

FIGURE 39.—Marae Tipuu, Teahupoo (Site 37): width 33 feet, length 87 feet; *ahu* faced along front with thin pieces of coral 1 foot high, set on edge; enclosing walls 2 feet high; 1-3, basalt uprights, fallen, 3 feet long; 2, 2 feet high; 3, 1 foot high.

Site 39. On the point east of Vaipouri River are the ruins of a marae, and on the successive points and bays farther eastward are ruins of other maraes, some at least of worked stone. Our guide at the time was new to the region and therefore did not know the names of any of these maraes. At Teahupoo Village we were told that the most important marae of this part of the coast was named Poahiva.

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Pueu District

Site 40. Marae at Ahui, plainly visible from the belt road (fig. 38). A very large marae with an *ahu* 10 feet high, of three or four steps. The cornerstones are dressed, but the facings are for the most part of selected natural blocks for the first course and of round stones for the upper courses.

Tautira District

Site 41. Marae Vaiotaha, at Vaitepiha Bay.

The exact location is given by Lidin (37, p. 388). This is the marae frequently referred to as marae Vaiotaha by the Spaniard Maximo (14, vol. 3). As seen by me in 1926 and in company with Captain Lidin in 1929, the ruin is a shapeless pile of coral 30 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 2 feet high, overgrown with brush. We found squared and worked round stones lying about the ruin. Maximo himself observed that the stones were "trimmed."

The Spaniards (14, vol. 2, p. 209) mention another marae to the north, and about 150 yards south still another. These were, respectively, marae Oro and marae Matahihae, and on each was a priest's house. Marae Vaiotaha is called Tetapuanini by the family that now (1925) owns the land on which it stands. I have encountered Tapuanini in a manuscript as a marae in Teahupoo. Marau gave the name Anini to Handy as that of a Tautira marae.

Site 42. Marae Faatororiro, on the first prominent point east of Tautira Point.

A large double marae of dressed stone which, in the west marae, had a facing of worked stones on the inside of the court walls as well as the outside. The remains of the *ahu* of the east marae are 7 feet high. A single basalt upright stands on one side of the court before it. The *ahu* of the west marae is a pile of coral and basalt 6 feet high and on this a large *tamanu* tree is growing. The court of the west marae measures 110 feet in length and its enclosure is 51 feet wide.

Site 43. Marae on the next point east of marae Faatororiro.

The *ahu* alone remains, a stone pile 30 feet long lying parallel to the shore and disrupted by the roots of a great *tamanu* tree growing upon it. Adjoining the area before the marae on the west is a 10-foot square pavement upon which stand two rows of uprights 3 feet apart; each row has three uprights placed 3 feet apart. These uprights probably mark modern graves.

Site 44. Marae Atomovahine, 200 yards from the sea on land of same name, Tautira.

The marae measures 54 feet wide, 111 feet long. The *ahu* is 18 feet wide and 13 feet high. The *ahu*, on the inland side of the court, which is at right angles to the shore, is faced entirely with beautifully worked stone. Coral blocks went into the first course of the steps. The outer facing had three steps which are traceable, and probably a fourth which can no longer be seen. The crest of the *ahu* measures 34 feet in length. It bears 10 degrees east of north.

Site 45. Marae, easternmost point of Tautira.

The enclosing walls of the court have disappeared. The *ahu* is a shapeless heap of coral fill overgrown with ferns and shaded by a great *tamanu* tree. It lies parallel to the beach and awash by the waters of the lagoon. Against the inland face of the *ahu* stands a basalt upright 3 feet high.

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Site 46. Large marae 100 yards inland from the bay opposite Fenuaino Island. The court lay parallel to the shore. The *ahu* of worked stone was at least 50 feet long and stood on the north end of the court.

Site 47. Two small maraes with low, single platform *ahu* lying on the edge of the shore with their courts on the inland side.

The southernmost *ahu* measures 24 feet long, 8 feet wide, and is faced with coral slabs on edge. Against its court face stands a basalt upright 0.5 foot high. The court, which is 75 feet long, is enclosed by a low, rough wall. The *ahu* of the marae to the north and adjoining this marae is 12 feet long and has three basalt uprights against its face.

Site 48. Petroglyph boulders at Vaiote, eastern end of Tautira, 30 yards from the shore among hundreds of other boulders at the base of the bluffs opposite Fenuaino Island (fig. 128).

The most elaborate and carefully executed carving stands alone on the lagoon face of a large boulder (fig. 128, *a*). There is a small horizontal crescent from which rises an oval which has an eye with two horizontal lines below it. This figure is entirely encompassed by radiating lines, and the whole is set within the arms of a large horizontal crescent just below. The second petroglyph boulder is 10 yards northeast of the first. Its main face has eight or nine crudely carved petroglyphs roughly similar to the figure on the first boulder (fig. 128, *c-g*). There are one or two more such figures on the top. On one end of the flat top of a stone 30 feet west of the first petroglyph boulder, Captain Lidin (38, figs. 1, 2) reports finding subsequent to our visit a single carving which has the form of the crescent in figure 128, *a*. It is approximately 20 inches long. About 70 yards south of the first boulder is a fourth, also reported by Lidin. This has on its south face two carvings, one above the other. The two petroglyphs are similar and resemble figure 128, *f*, except that the face is of the same width as the length of the arc and no eyes appear.

Ten yards south of the first petroglyph boulder is a low house terrace, 30 feet long, facing the lagoon. Before it is another low terrace about 6 feet wide. A banyan tree grows between the terrace and the lagoon.

Site 49. Two dressed stone maraes and a dressed stone enclosure half a mile within Vaiote Valley, described by Lidin (38, p. 49).

The first marae is an enclosure, 20 by 40 feet. At one end of the court is a platform of two or three steps, with an upright before it. Five yards from this marae is an enclosure 63 feet in maximum width, 66 feet long. The second marae has an *ahu* of at least three steps and measures 45 feet long, 13 feet wide. The dressed stone enclosure, which is farthest in the valley, measures 46 by 30 feet. The walls are three feet high. One end is against the valley slope, and the corners of the outer end are marked by a squared block 4 feet high, 15 inches long, 20 inches thick. This is probably a marae, the *ahu* of which was unobserved.

At the entrance to the valley, Lidin noted a rock which had a hole 8 inches in diameter extending into it 15 (?) feet. This was called a *pahu* (drum) by the natives. When it was hit with the butt of a coconut leaf it gave forth a deep boom.

Hitiaa District

Site 50. Marae Hitiaa (?), on land Putiare (Pu-tiare) or Feiroa, Papeiha Valley (fig. 40).

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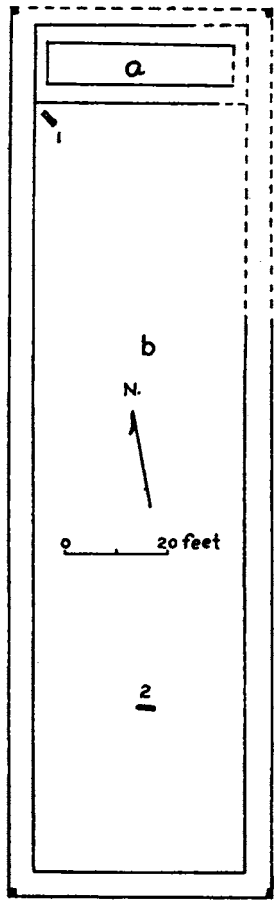

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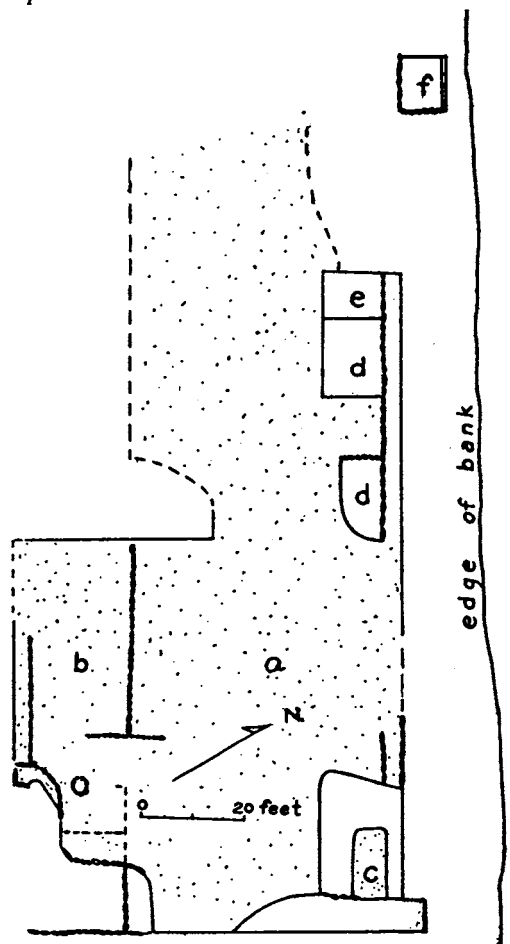

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FIGURE 40.—Marae Hitiaa, Putiare, Papeiha Valley, Hitiaa (Site 50), length 168 feet, width 51 feet; *a*, *ahu* 7 feet high, first step on inner side 4 feet high, second step 3 feet high, enclosing wall ranges from 2 to 3 feet in height around court, top platform of *ahu* is 8 feet wide at base, 6 feet wide at top, and like top of wall and steps is paved with small pebbles; *b*, court paved with flagstones, enclosed by wall 2 to 3 feet high, 4 to 5 feet wide, faced on outside with even rows of worked stones squared in cross section and round-faced, faced on inside with naturally rounded stones of same size; 1, basalt column 4 feet long, 1.5 feet wide, 1 foot thick, lying on pavement; 2, basalt slab firmly embedded on edge, 3.5 feet long, 1.5 feet high, 8 inches thick; each outer corner of marae is marked by a firmly embedded, squared basalt stone 2 to 3 feet high.

FIGURE 41.—Paepae of Ori, plateau above Papenoo Village (Site 60): *a*, main pavement of stream-worn stones averaging 1 foot in diameter and 6 inches thick, several coral heads in place of cobblestones; *b*, higher level of pavement, transition made by gentle slope and division marked by straight row of oblong stones, as are other divisions traced in plan; *c*, detached part of pavement; *d*, unpaved area; *e*, pavement of smaller stones; *f*, square marked out by embedded stones and strewn with small stones, north border formed by a great limestone slab 10 feet long, 5 feet high, 1 foot thick; 1, circle left unpaved (for a bush ?); stippled areas indicate pavement; whole platform rests on terrace 1 to 2 feet high.

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Located on the south bank of the stream, 10 minutes' walk from the road, in a grove of *mape* trees. A river flood once swept over the marae carrying away much of the court wall towards the north end and the outer facing of the *ahu*. The inner, rough facing of the *ahu*, against which the dressed stones were placed, was so solidly built as to have withstood the ravage, and so the original form and height of the *ahu* are preserved. About the *ahu* lie many thin, broad pieces of coral which must have entered into the *ahu* facing. The four beautifully squared, basalt cornerstones, still in place, give the true boundaries of the court and *ahu*. At the southwest corner a squared stone lies a few feet from it and must have been placed on the present cornerstone, raising it to 3 feet. The name Hitiaa for the marae is probably correct. It was given me by the descendants of a Papeiha family still occupying the valley in 1926. The same name was given again in 1930. Marae Hitiaa was a royal marae of the district (32 p. 70).

A little farther inland from this marae are others not seen, and a quantity of platforms and stone walls, according to a native who was clearing the land.

Site 51. Burial caves, about 2 miles within Papeiha Valley.

On a bluff on the north side of the valley about six coffins of breadfruit wood were placed along ledges and under niches difficult of access. The burials were very recent; we saw in the coffins print cloth, glass bottles of perfume, and withered garlands, and understood from our guides that the family to whom those buried here belonged were living in the valley a short time ago. This burial place was quite a sightseeing point until 1927, when a Swedish doctor took the skulls.

Site 52. Marae Tehahumoana, Faatautia Valley.

This little marae crowns the end of a spur overlooking the valley. The crest of the spur has been leveled, and a retaining wall 2 feet high, of rough pieces of coral and basalt, allows for an extension of the level spaces measuring 10 by 20 yards. The marae is overgrown with staghorn fern. We could find no trace of *ahu* or uprights.

Site 53. Marae Taputapuatea (?), on land Tefauroa, Hitiaa village, just seaward of the church. A grove of gigantic *tamanu* trees shelters the site. A few feet of pavement, a scattered pile of coral stones, and a number of squared, round-faced stones are all that survive of this great royal marae.

Mahaena District

Site 54. Marae on the east bank of Mahaena Stream, half a mile inland.

Floods have destroyed all but part of the *ahu*. The *ahu* was fenced in with coral slabs on edge, 1 foot high. It measured 20 feet long, 6 feet wide. An upright 3 feet high stood on the back in the center. Along the front at one corner stood an upright 2 feet high. The long axis of the *ahu* bears north 135 degrees.

Site 55. Small marae on the west bank of Mahaena Stream, 1 mile inland. A low *ahu* 28 feet long stands on the inland end of a terrace 2 feet high. Along the front of the *ahu* stand a corner and a central basalt upright 1 to 2 feet high.

Tiarei District

Site 56. Marae Taaroa, near the boundary with Mahaena District.

All that is left is the *ahu*, 300 yards from the beach and at right angles to it. It measures 38 feet long, 3 feet wide, 1 foot high. There is no worked stone, but pieces of coral on edge form at least part of the facing. The *ahu* is in very poor condition. Possibly there are here two *ahu*, one end-on to the other.

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Site 57. Marae Potiioparae, at Faaru.

Enough of the marae remains to show that it had an *ahu* of the ordinary coastal marae, of 2 or 3 steps, about 5 feet high, 30 feet long, 12 feet wide, and a court about 80 feet long enclosed by a wall having coral stones on edge as the first course. The *ahu* is parallel to the shore and on the inland side of the court. The marae is on the property of M. Ducie, and a deed for the land, executed in 1861, gives the name of the marae.

Site 58. Line of four upright stones on crest of beach in Tiarei Village on land called Tetuahu.

The stones, which are basalt, measure from 3 to 4 feet in height and are placed 30 feet apart in a row. The waves have cut away the support for the three west uprights, which lie prone. The east upright stands on the seaward end of a little platform framed with coral slabs on edge. Only the end of the platform is preserved. It measures 2 feet wide and 1 foot high. My native guide, who did not appear especially trustworthy, said that at these stones the *hui arii* met, each group assembling around one stone. He added that a *puna* (uncarved stone fish god) was buried somewhere on this land. When its head was pointed downward, fish would not take a hook.

Site 59. Marae bordering inland side of belt road at a place called Taioo.

This is rocky ground which has been partly cleared and terraced. There are no worked stones or traces of an *ahu*, but large stones stand here and there without any apparent arrangement. The spot is regarded as the site of a marae by the natives, who pointed it out to me in 1926 and again in 1931. Its presiding deity was Putai.

Papenoo District

Site 60. Great *paepae*, or pavement, on the northeast corner of the plateau called Aorai, just above Papenoo village (fig. 41). It is called the Paepae of Ori, son of one Mainu who lived six generations ago according to an informant married to a descendant.

The pavement covers an area more than 50 feet wide and 150 feet long. The land back of it for a great distance is level and fertile. Westward nearly 200 feet a wall 3 feet high, 2 feet wide, runs inland from the edge of the plateau. Between it and the rear corner of the *paepae* lie a number of modern graves marked out by rectangles of stones embedded in the ground. There is no way of estimating what changes may have taken place in the pavement since European times: probably not much. The European house abutting the rear of the pavement very likely occupies the original site of the chief's house. This pavement is the finest and most extensive we saw. The curved margins are most unusual features.

Off to the west a low, square platform (fig. 41, *f*) has a great limestone slab set along the north edge, the only large limestone slab seen in any structure on Tahiti. I was told this was marae Ivirau, and the stone marked the place where an orator or priest stood while chanting out to those on the *paepae*. The chief of Papenoo, however, says this is not the marae Ivirau, which has been destroyed. The same informant, claiming the little platform was a marae, described witnessing one evening a spirit *tupapa'u* in the form of fiery comet, with a red head, yellow body, and blue tail, spring from this platform and disappear out in the ocean. This was just after the death of an important chief. I should guess, therefore, that the structure may mark a grave constructed, perhaps, on the site of the marae.

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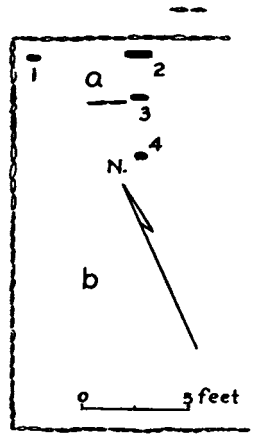
Site 61. Marae at Ui, on the plateau above Papenoo Village about half an hour's walk inland (fig. 42). The land where the marae stood had been cleared and burned over with no regard for its preservation, so only a vestige of its enclosing wall and four firmly planted uprights remain. Ruins of several similar maraes may be seen in the vicinity.



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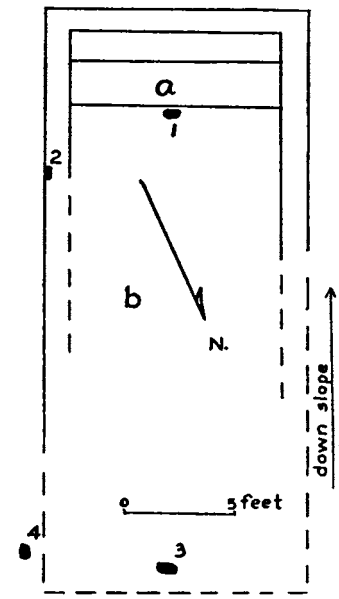

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FIGURE 42.—Marae at Ui, Papenoo (Site 61), 18.5 feet long: *a, ahu,* two coral facing stones all that remain; *b,* court, more or less paved, once enclosed by wall, first outside course of embedded stones traceable; 1-4, basalt uprights; 1, 8 inches high; 2, 14 inches high; 3, 12 inches high; 4, 6 inches high.

FIGURE 43.—Marae at Vaivaruvaru, Papenoo (Site 62), 12 feet wide, 27 feet long; *a, ahu* faced with stream pebbles 2 inches in diameter, outer face rises in three terraces, first 18 inches high, second and third each 4 inches high, top of *ahu* flush with pavement of court; *b,* court, rear undistinguishable at margins from ground outside, forward part built to keep horizontal level as ground slopes down, this part flanked by stone terrace; 1-4, basalt uprights; 1, 3 inches high but with top broken off; 2, 6 inches high; 3, 14 inches high; 4, 10 inches high.

Site 62. Marae at Vaivaruvaru, on the edge of the west bank of Papenoo Valley, a mile from the mouth (fig. 43).

This marae is built after the coastal type but on a very much smaller scale. In place of the rounded worked stones the *ahu* and enclosing walls are faced with pebbles 2 inches in diameter. Oddly, the pavement of the court is flush with the top of the *ahu;* the outer face however rises in three low steps or terraces.

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The place names of Papenoo Valley are located according to numbe the map (fig. 44):

1. Aorai Plateau
2. Ui Plateau
3. Vaivaruvaru Plateau
4. Vaituoru (entire stream)
4a. Taatehau Peak
5. Fanao Stream
6. Teavaro (valley bottom, plantation of chief)
7. Vaihi Stream
8. Vairea Stream
9. Titiafaatau (ridge and location of fort)
10. Topatari Stream
11. Paoi Stream
12. Horoahiai Stream (location of Czechoslovakian camp)
13. Maoma Stream
14. Toopuu Peak
15. Puutoa Stream, small dwelling site
16. Vaiharuru Stream and cascade
17. Paapaaina Stream
18. Maaiore Peak
19. Tiaturi, large boulder in stream
20. Taaria
20a. Tefaaiti
21. Tupa, land between Vaiharuru and Vaipaea
22. Vaipaea Stream
23. Faahuhu Stream
24. Vaiotea Stream
25. Pauoi Valley bottom
26. Puraha Falls
26a. Fare Ueue
27. Toretorea (often called Totorea), high plateau
27a. Taretare Stream
28. Vaiohiro Peak
29. Tapia Stream
30. Mootefaa Peak and Stream
31. Ana Piro
32. Ana Eri
33. Teafa Peak
34. Faatia Stream
35. Tapotupotu Stream
36. Tevaoraa Stream
37. Tepau Stream
38. Turou Stream
39. Vai Iore Stream
40. Teponaroa
41. Airaau Peak
42. Ara Maoro
43. Tepau Peak (location indefinitely known)
44. Rauti Stream
45. Maa-i-Ruahine Stream
46. Terepo, gap into Mahaena
47. Huapi Peak
48. Ara Pope (Path-of-the-Catholics)
49. Maareiati Valley
50. Terape Peak
51. Reretia Peak
52. Tehopua Peak
53. Tenono Peak
54. Pahi
55. Mauoro, rock on east bank
56. Te Pari Cliff
57. Pufau Grotto
58. Ti'amu'u Peak
59. Taporo
60. Te Piha-ia-Teta Rock
61. Faarea Stream
62. Haupararu Stream
63. Faarea Peak
64. Vaihi Stream
65. Ofetanu
66. Teniu Peak
67. Puaraa Peak
68. Tuaora
68a. Vanapao
69. Vainavenave, main stream
70. Anahue Stream
71. Vai Arahu Stream
72. Oura Stream
73. Anaorii Plateau
74. Pua Grotto
75. Utamahi Stream
76. Mauru Peak
77. Gap into Papeiha
78. Urufaa Peak
79. Te Aroa, pass to Lal Vaihiria
80. Vaihiria Lake
81. Apaapauai Shelter
82. Fareape
83. Vai Topaa Stream
84. Teti Stream
85. Farefenua Peak
86. Vai Ooma Stream
87. Popotaiaroa
88. Rufe Peak
89. Ahititera
90. Maroto (whole branc of stream)
91. Vai Avaava (mineral spring)
92. Ure Ahititera Peak
93. Putoura
94. Paiatehoraa
95. Ieiefaatautau
96. Muritahavai
97. Tahinu
98. Tetufera Peak
99. Moua Tamaiti Peak
100. Taumoaopu Peak
101. Tehamaa Peak
102. Ara Namunamu (pass to Taharuu)
103. Orohena (highest peak of Tahiti)
104. Pitohiti Peak
105. Marama Ridge
106. Tapatea
107. Paevai
108. Vanatui Cave
109. Atipi
110. Ana Tui Cave
111. Terepo
112. Popaa (single coconut growing here)
113. O-te-Fai Stream
114. Tamanu (entire branch of Vai Tuoru Stream)

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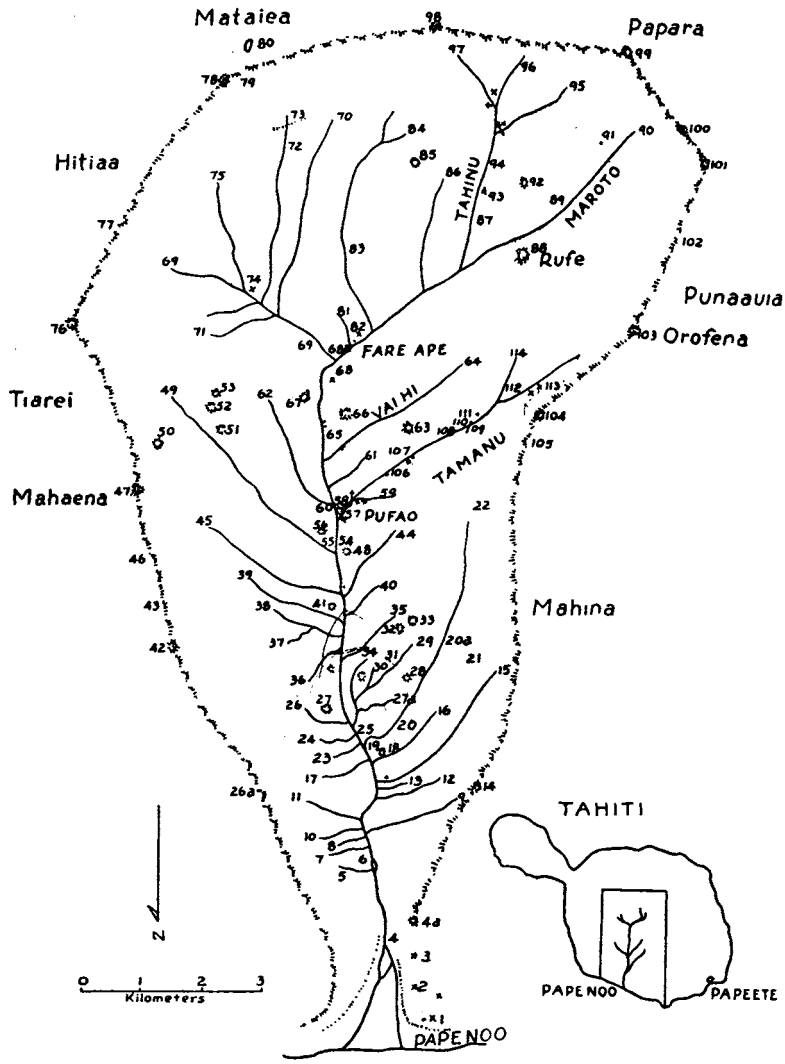

FIGURE 44.—Map of Papenoo Valley, Tahiti, copied from map of Lacroix (42, p. 95), position of several streams altered to check with observations; numbers refer to place names (p. 84); dots mark sites of ruins; *x*, sites of maraes.

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Site 63. Enclosure at Puutoa, Papenoo Valley (fig. 44), base of high cliff on west side of valley.

Enclosure is formed by two loosely built walls, 18 feet apart, 3 feet high, 1.5 feet wide, running out a distance of 12 feet. One ends with a great boulder. The other turns roughly at right angles and continues for 6 feet. The ground within is stony but fairly level.

Site 64. Platform at Tepari.

In the V formed by the juncture of Vaituoru and Maareati streams is an earth platform 30 feet wide, 60 feet long, faced with a first course of slabs set on edge and upper courses of ordinary stones. The long axis lies due east and west. The rear of the platform is level with the ground, but along the north edge the height is 3.5 feet above the ground. This platform is said to have been the site of a church, and I note the French government map of 1876 puts a village called Mariuti (probably intended for Maareati) here. At the southwest corner of the platform is a flagstone pavement 15 feet square.

Site 65. Pufao shelter cave.

A famous cave continually used by parties going into the hinterland of Papenoo or crossing over the island to Papara District. Having a good depth of floor dust, this seemed a favorable place for excavation. However, a fair trial excavation in the deeper soil at the mouth of the cave conducted by my companion, Mr. Talbot Patrick, and one native laborer yielded nothing more than cooking stones and three pig bones. Evidently a cave in frequent temporary use is a poor one in which to dig for artifacts, anything left behind being picked up by the next party.

Site 66. Marae, large platform, and burial grotto at Taporo (figs. 45-46).

The marae (fig. 46) lies at right angles to the gentle slope, and on the west bank of the stream. On the front wall lies a basalt slab 1.2 feet long, 1 foot wide, and 3 inches thick, worn on both sides by grinding, so that each side is slightly hollow.

Three minutes' walk southwest of the marae, following the main stream inland, brings one to a large terrace (fig. 45) on the west bank, about 40 feet wide and 120 feet deep, running along the top of a low flat ridge. A front corner of this is paved with large flagstones.

Following the direction of the wall back of the terrace at Taporo brings one to a great boulder which formed an overhanging burial shelter. This was probably walled in with stones. The wall has been pulled apart and all except a few bones and several broken skulls taken away by visitors.

Site 67. At Tapatea are three simple terraces, probably of houses. At Paevai, farther inland, is a simple platform and a terraced platform 1 foot high, 15 feet wide, joining another terraced platform 3 feet high, 21 feet

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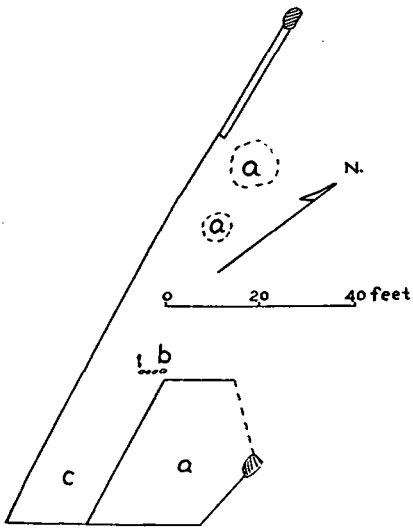
wide. At Ana Tui is a bluff shelter washed by the stream during freshets. Back of this cave is one simple terrace and in front of it another 2 feet high, faced with water-worn stones.

Site 68. Terrace and small marae (figs. 4, 48) at Otefai.

A great stone-faced terrace 100 feet long, 6 to 8 feet high, 30 feet wide, lies on the west bank of Temanu stream and parallel to it, just below its juncture with Tefai Stream. At the back of this terrace rises a second terrace, 2 feet high, and against its face a small marae. The terrace and marae have been badly trampled by wild cattle.



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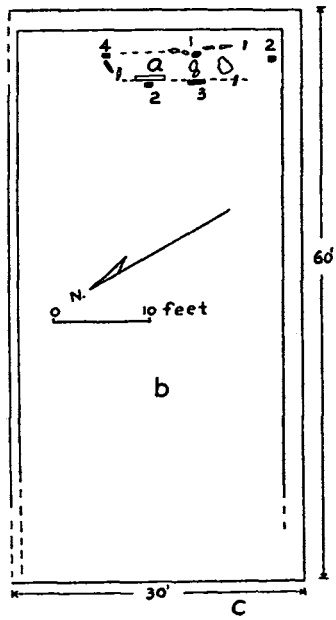

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FIGURE 45.—Terrace at Taporo, Papenoo Valley (Site 66), 3 feet high and 120 feet long, retaining wall of small, uneven stones; *a*, pavement of flagstones 1 to 2 feet long; *b*, outline of house foundation; *c*, level earth floor.

FIGURE 46.—Marae at Taporo, Papenoo Valley (Site 66): *a*, *ahu* outlined by basalt columns set on edge, one 3 feet long and 6 inches square, space within unpaved but several flagstones lie on it in position shown; *b*, partly enclosed court, wall attains maximum height inside of 1 foot, outside of 4 feet; *c*, stone-faced earth terrace 2 feet high; 1-4, basalt uprights; 1, 1.5 feet high; 2, 1 foot high; 3, 10 inches high; 4, 13 inches high.

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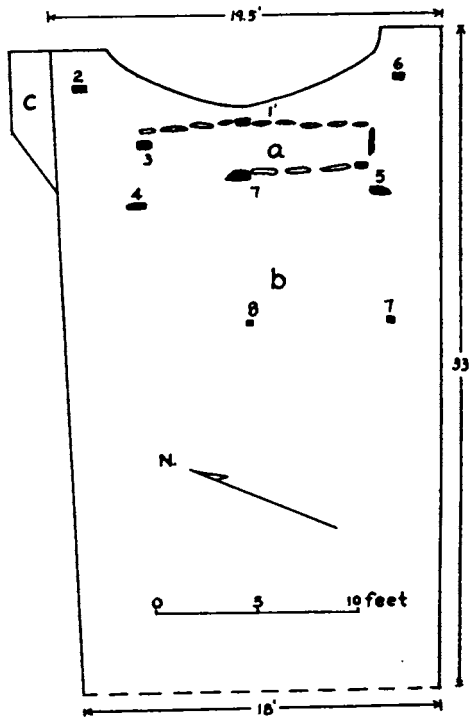
Site 69. Marae at Tefai, at the foot of the slope on the edge of a high west bank of Tefai Stream (fig. 47).

This marae has the dimensions and shape of an archery platform, but the *ahu* and the arrangement of uprights are as of an ordinary marae. The southeast corner is built up of slabs laid all one way (pl. 5, *B*). A number of terraces are to be seen at the rear of the marae and also across the brook in front of the marae. Several isolated uprights stand on these last.



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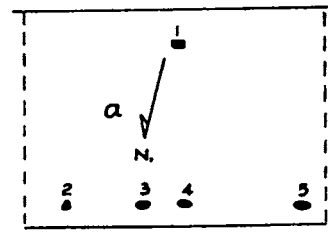

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FIGURE 47.—Plan of marae at Tefai, Papenoo Valley, Tahiti (Site 69), south side attains maximum height above ground of 8 feet, north side bounded by terrace 2 feet high: *a*, *ahu* outlined by basalt columns embedded on edge, 2 feet to left of it we picked up a piece of fan-shaped coral; *b*, disrupted flagstone pavement; *c*, stone-covered terrace 2 feet higher than court; 1-7, basalt uprights; 1, 1 foot high; 2-5, 7 inches high; 7, 1 foot 3 inches high.

FIGURE 48.—Small marae (?) at Otefai, Papenoo (Site 68): *a*, paved terrace 11 feet wide, 15 feet long, 1.5 feet high; 1-5, firmly-planted uprights; 1, 20 inches high; 2, 14 inches high; 3, 10 inches high; 4, 6 inches high; 5, 7 inches high. (See fig. 4.)

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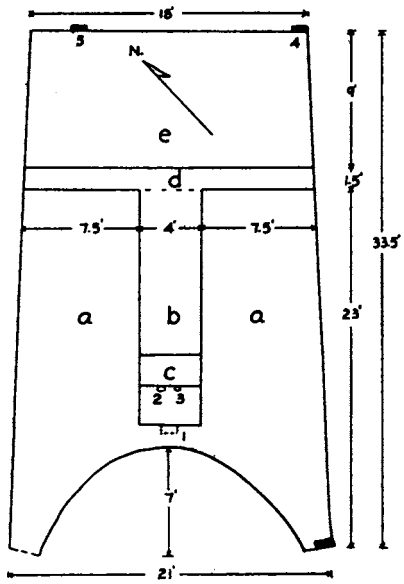
Site 70. Archery platform (figs. 12, 50) and house site, east bank of Vaihi Stream, a fourth of a mile above its juncture with Vaituoru Stream.

The archery platform lies on gently sloping ground facing a fairly level area of great extent. Twenty feet north of the platform is a stone-faced house terrace 5 feet high, 30 feet long, 20 feet wide, divided longitudinally in the middle by a line of stones embedded in the earth. At the outer corner of the terrace we found a broken stone pounder. Several other house sites were noted below this one.



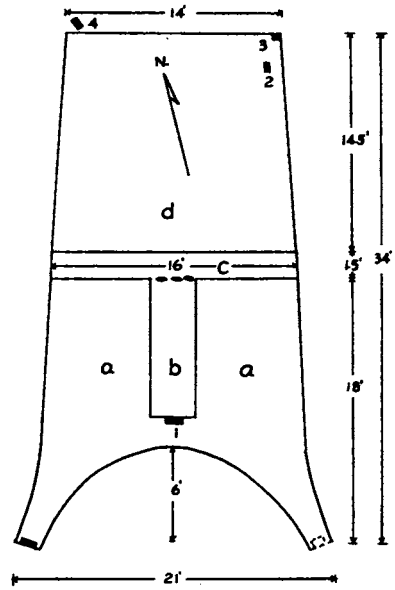


FIGURE 49.—Archery platform at Farehape, Papenoo Valley (Site 73), 1 foot high: *a*, main pavement of flagstones, an upright stone in tip of right arm; *b*, longitudinal strip unpaved except for connecting piece; *c*, sides of strip bordered with basalt columns laid on edge; *d*, transverse unpaved strip of shallow trench; *e*, rough pavement which may have extended back 2 feet farther, thus placing rear uprights on platform; 1, hole of missing forward upright which my guide had seen in place; 2, 3, rounded flat stones which suggest markers for position of rear foot of archer; 4, upright, 18 inches; 5, low upright.

FIGURE 50.—Archery platform at Vaihi, Papenoo Valley (Site 70), 34 feet long, 21 feet wide at front and 14 feet wide at back, maximum height 3.5 feet in front and 1 foot in back: *a*, forward part of platform paved with flagstones, sides flare outward, in tips of arms an upright stone set flush with pavement, facings roughly made; *b*, unpaved strip edged with rectangular blocks in pavement and headed by upright (1) 1 foot high, three pavement stones set across rear of strip; *c*, unpaved transverse strip; *d*, pavement like *a*, but noticeably higher; 1-4, basalt uprights; 2, 1.5 feet high; 3, 6 inches high, broken; 4, fallen, 1.5 feet high.

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Site 71. House site and marae (fig. 51) at Tuaora (Tu'a-ora), below Ofetanu Peak and on the west bench of Vaituoru Stream.

The house site consists of a stone-faced terrace about 10 by 25 feet, only 6 inches high, enclosed at the back and sides by a wall 2 feet high. It faces on a paved platform extending out 18 feet, 1 to 1.5 feet high. North of this we noted four or five other platforms.

Site 72. Burial niche at Puaraa Peak.

Ascending a side ravine, our guides took us to an outcropping ledge near the summit of the peak where a great banyan tree grows on the southern slope. Lying exposed on a narrow shelf is a coffin 5 feet long made of a hollowed-out breadfruit log and covered with a lid of breadfruit wood 9 inches wide and 0.5 inch thick. The lid is tied on with broad sennit braid at both ends and in the middle. Within the coffin are the bones of a child and an adult female, and lying on the shelf outside, the bones of an adult female. In a crevice at the base of the rock are the skull, pelvic bones, and other bones of an adult male. We were told that in 1894 the body of a woman of Papeiha was carried to this place, where her brother was buried.

Site 73. Bluff shelter, marae (fig. 52), and archery platform (fig. 49) at Farehape.

An overhanging bluff forms a well-known shelter for hunting parties. The floor is naturally level and smooth. Around the corner from the shelter lies a marae, and 20 yards west of the marae an archery platform (29, pl. 3, *B*) faces a long level stretch. Next to the marae is a boulder with a hole in it; like the rock at Ana Piro (Site 79) it is slapped with a ti leaf to produce a muffled drumlike sound.

Site 74. Platform south of Farehape.

Along the east bank of Farehape Stream and parallel to it lies a terrace 4 feet high and about 70 feet long and 25 feet wide. The stone retaining wall is perpendicular and neatly built of angular stones. One end has several uprights standing on a pavement which extends out about 10 feet. Several small terraces exist south of this large one.

Site 75. Great terrace with shrine adjoining, Putoura (fig. 53; pl. 1, *B*). The terrace stands on the west bank of the stream. Our old guide knew some traditions concerning this structure which we were to take down from him upon our return to the coast.

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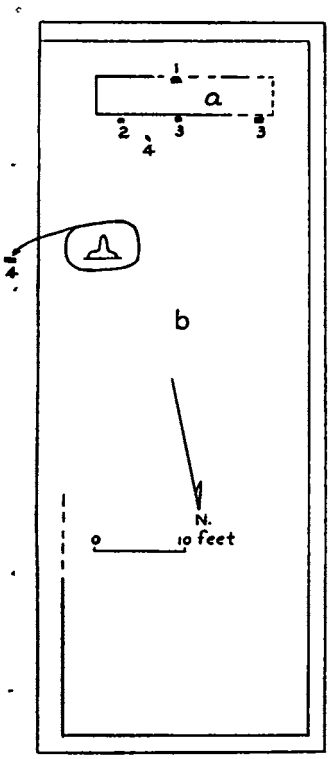

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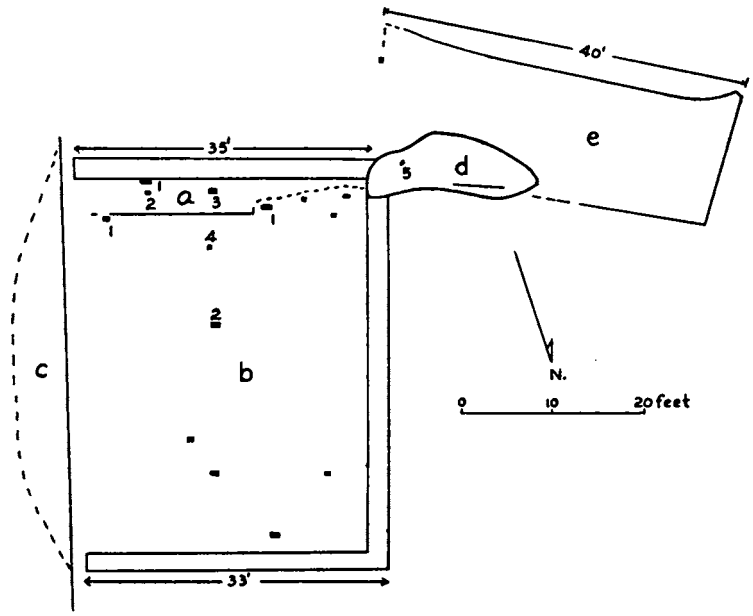

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FIGURE 51.—Marae at Tuaora, Papenoo Valley (Site 71), 80 feet long and 31 feet wide: *a, ahu* outlined by stones on edge; *b,* court partly covered with loose stones and partly enclosed by wall 1 to 3 feet high; 1-3, basalt uprights; 1, 2 feet high; 2, 6 inches high; 3, 8 inches high; 4, thin piece of coral (fig. 2, *c*); 5, upright 2 feet high and 2 feet wide at base, having shape, apparently natural, shown in inset.

FIGURE 52.—Plan of marae at Farehape, Papenoo Valley (Site 73): *a,* terraced *ahu* faced with single course of stones; *b,* paved court enclosed on three sides by wall 2 feet high, bordered on fourth by a terrace; *c,* terrace 1 foot high, first course of small water-worn stones 6 inches in diameter and upper course of stones about 1 foot in diameter, northeast corner of enclosure has small stone with two faces meeting at right angles as cornerstone; *d,* great rock having stone terrace standing on shelf on north side; *e,* paved platform 2 feet high; 1-4, basalt uprights; 1, 10 inches high; 2, 8 inches high; 3, 21 inches high; 4, 16 inches high; 5, hole 3 inches in diameter, 14 inches deep.

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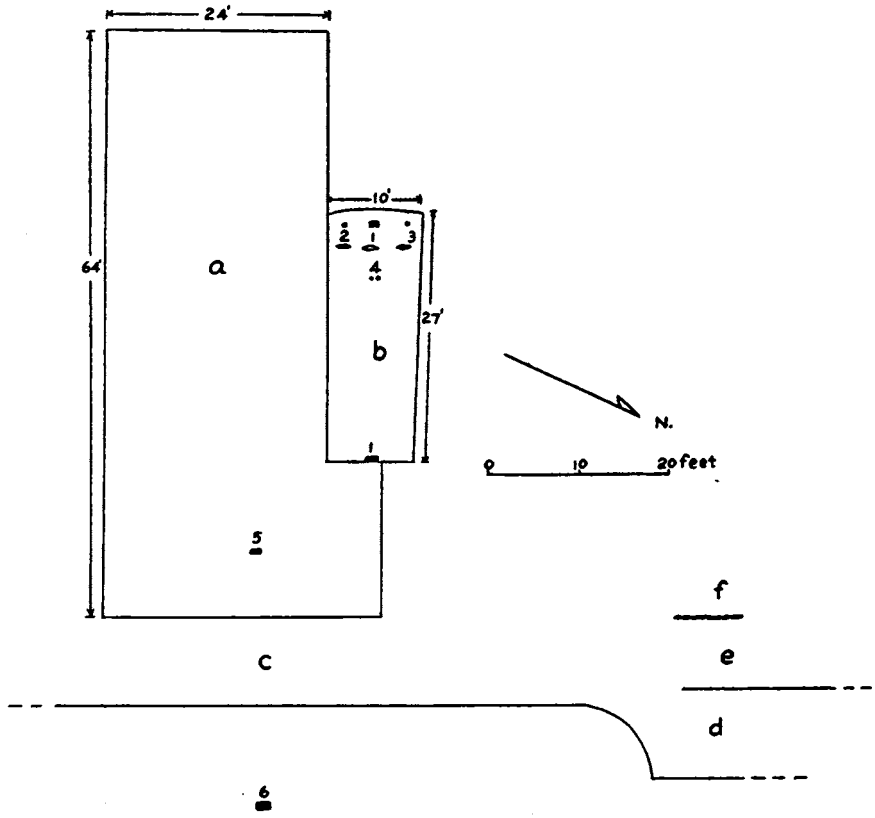

FIGURE 53.—Plan of terraces and small marae at Putoura, Papenoo Valley (Site 75): *a*, unpaved terrace at right angles to gentle slope and 2 feet above *b*, southeast corner built up 3.5 feet of slabs laid horizontally, their long axis parallel to front, rear of terrace level with ground outside and marked off simply by a row of stones; *b*, unpaved marae enclosure 2 feet below *a* (pl. 1, *B*); *c*, unpaved terrace 4 feet high along front; *d*, *e*, terraces 2 feet high; *f*, rear of terrace *e*, marked off by line of stone embedded in ground; 1-6, basalt uprights; 1, 2 feet 2 inches high; 2, 1 foot high; 3, 8 inches high; 4, pair 7 inches high, 2 inches apart; 5, slab about 1.5 feet high; 6, slab 3 feet high, 1 foot wide, 6 inches thick.

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Site 76. Maraes at Ieiefaatautau (figs. 54-56).

A remarkably preserved marae of good size exists on the south bank of Ieiefaatautau Stream (fig. 55; pl. 1, *A*). Two adjoining small maraes (fig. 56) lie on level ground a few yards eastward of the large marae. They consist of two enclosures at right angles to each other (29, pl. 3). A few feet from the northeast corner of these maraes a cluster of three uprights stands on bare, open ground. Between the maraes and Tahinu Stream an aged coconut tree is growing, and alongside of the stream is a long terrace averaging 3 feet high.

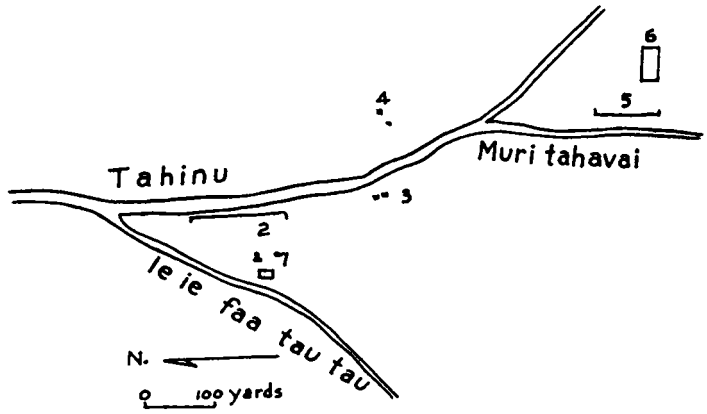

FIGURE 54.—Sketch map showing relative position of ruins at the back of Papenoo Valley (Sites 76-79): 1, maraes; 2, stone-faced earth terrace 3 feet high; 3, archery platforms; 4, bluff shelter and house site; 5, earth terrace with vertical retaining wall 4 to 5 feet high; 6, marae.

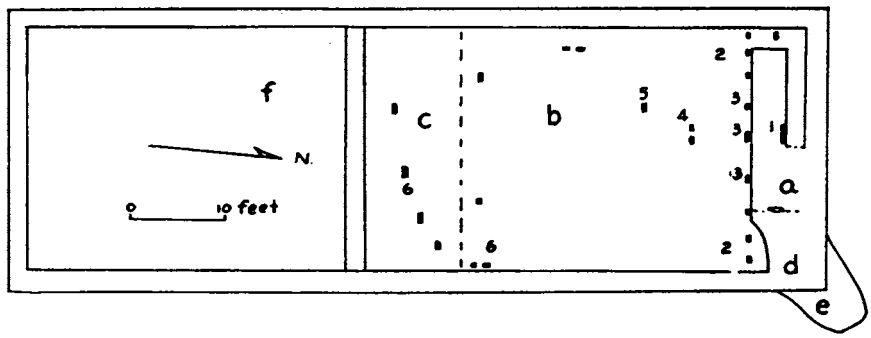

FIGURE 55.—Plan of large marae at Ieiefaatautau, Papenoo Valley (Site 76), length 84 feet, width 29 feet, enclosing walls 1 to 3 feet high: *a, ahu* 6 inches high paved with small stones faced with single course of rough stones shielded in front by row of fan-shaped corals set on edge (pl. 1, *A*); *b*, court paved with flagstones; *c*, court paved more roughly than *b*; *d*, pavement of large stones, on same level as *ahu*; *e*, little platform paved with small stones; *f*, pavement enclosed by wall 3 feet high, except on north side where wall is 1 foot high; 1-6, uprights; 1, 3 feet high; 2, 1 foot high; 3, 20 inches high; 4, 7 inches high; 5, 15 inches high; 6, 2 feet high.

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Site 77. Pair of archery platforms, on level ground at Ieiefaatautau (fig. 57).

About 300 yards north of the marae on the east bank of Tahinu Stream, 100 feet from the steep face of the bank, the platforms are directly opposite Tahinu shelter cave. On the face of the slope directly opposite the maraes is a well-known hunter's cave where we spent the night. It is formed, like Pufao grotto, by an ancient cut-in under a bluff by the stream. On top of this bluff is a rectangular pavement presumably a house site.

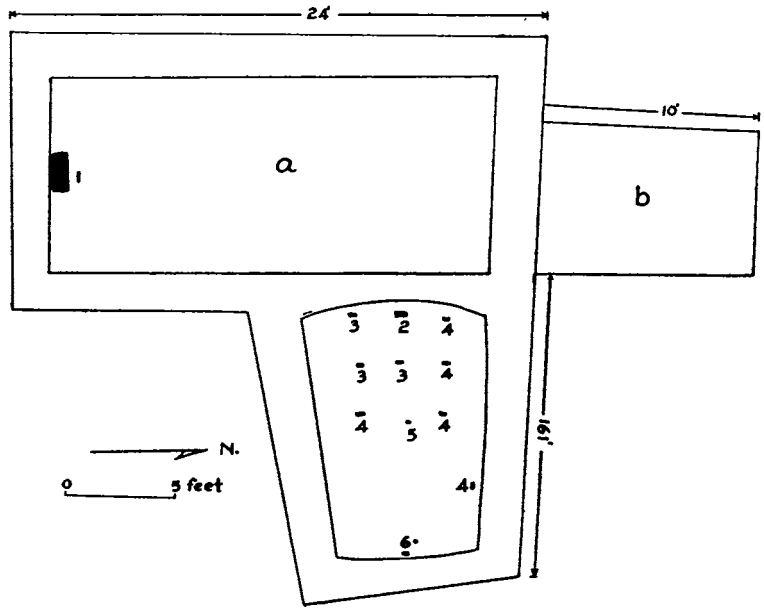

FIGURE 56.—Plan of two small adjoining maraes at Ieiefaatautau, Papenoo Valley (Site 76): *a*, enclosure paved with flagstones; *b*, unpaved terrace 1 foot high; 1, slab 2 feet high, pointed; 2, 1 foot 10 inches high, 7 inches wide, 3.5 inches thick; 3, 1 foot high; 4, 10 inches high; 5, 7 inches high; 6, 1.5 feet high.

Site 78. Marae at Muritahavai (fig. 58). This is the largest inland marae discovered. The court is a great stone platform at right angles to the slope and cutting into it at the back. The excavation is faced with a retaining wall.

Site 79. Shelter cave, burial cave, and marae (?) at Ana Piro.

A great overhanging bluff at Ana Piro serves as a shelter for those who spend time on the extensive plateau in front of it. Traces of house sites were seen in front of it, and proof of its use in pre-European times was a stone chisel lying in the dust of the floor. A hundred yards from this shelter is an ancient burial niche which had been entirely rifled by hunters. Our guides said they remembered that some of the skulls had the jaw bound on by sennit.

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A hundred yards below the sleeping cave we were directed to a stone-faced earth terrace 40 feet long, 40 feet wide, 1 to 3 feet high, on the slope of a knoll. At the back of this terrace stands another about 25 feet long and 15 feet wide, and along the back of this the ground rises steeply to a height of about 15 feet. The guides thought this site a marae.

Between the marae (?) and the shelter is a large rock having a hole 3 inches in diameter, 3 feet deep (evidently natural), which produces a muffled drumlike sound when struck with a ti leaf, a traditional practice, for what reason I could not learn.

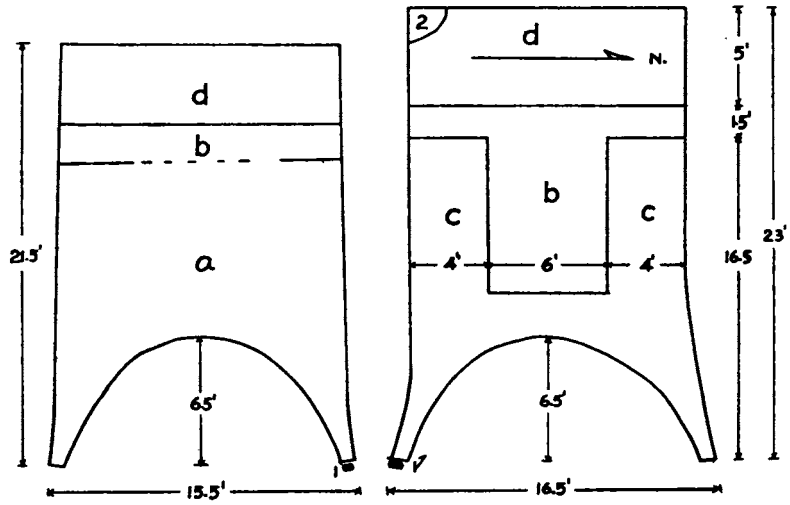

FIGURE 57.—Pair of archery platforms at Ieiefaatautau, Papenoo Valley (Site 77): *a*, disrupted pavement of platform 2 feet high; *b*, unpaved strip; *c*, pavement of flagstones 1 foot above *b*; *d*, rough pavement; 1, upright 2 feet high; 2, unpaved and pitlike.

Site 80. Fisherman's marae on Papenoo Point, west of the village.

This marae, it was claimed, was completely destroyed by a storm in January, 1926. Certainly there is no trace of it now. It was described to me by M. Martin as a rectangular pavement at each seaward corner of which was a large natural boulder. Running from each boulder to the opposite corner of the pavement was a line of uprights. Placed between the two boulders were two shark *puna* (fish charms), one supposed to be male, the other female. Each was mounted on a pedestal. When faced inland, sharks would be prevented from coming to the shore opposite. The *puna* were natural, oblong beach stones, constricted in the middle. M. Martin, who had these at his home, allowed me to photograph them. One is 23 inches long, the other 14 inches.

HAAPAPE DISTRICT

Site 81. Marae Fare Roi, Haapape, an eighth of a mile from Point Venus (fig. 59).

The site pointed out is marked by 10 unusually large basalt uprights. The site is also called the marae of Mahina-hio-noa. The legend is that Mahina, the priest, one day entered the marae looking straight ahead (*hio noa*), not perceiving a child of his following behind him; when he discovered the child on the marae precincts, the father seized and killed him in order to avert the anger of the gods.

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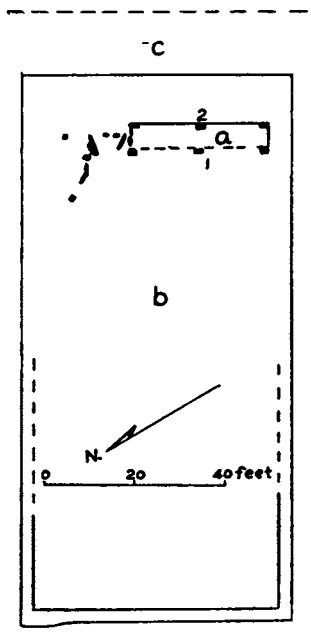
This site is approximately the position marked on the French map of 1823 (16, no. 4) as that of a burial ground adjoining the mission church. As two small coral platforms, apparently graves, appear on the east side of two of the uprights, all of them may be nothing more than headstones of graves. But marae Fare Roi surely stood in this neighborhood, and as no trace of another ruin could be found some or all of the uprights may be original uprights of the marae, possibly in their original position. There is no source for such large stones nearer than a mile.



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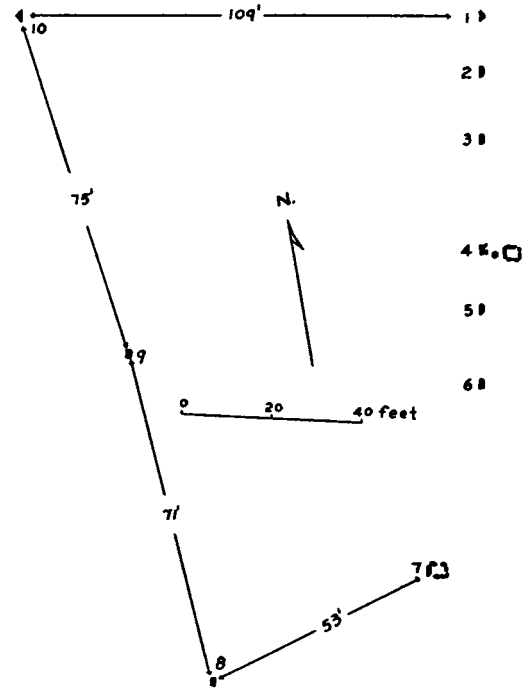

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FIGURE 58.—Marae at Muritahavai, Papenoo Valley (Site 78): earth-filled *ahu* 2 feet high washed almost entirely away, to left are standing and fallen basalt columns in positions shown; *b*, court 120 feet long, 59 feet wide, partly covered by small stones and partly enclosed by low wall, west end of marae 5 feet high; *c*, terrace 15 feet wide, stone-faced, 5 feet higher than *a*; 1, upright slab of white crystalline basalt, 2 feet 4 inches high, 1 foot 10 inches wide, 6 inches thick; 2, gray basalt slab 2 feet 2 inches high, 1.5 feet wide.

FIGURE 59.—Large upright stones on supposed site of marae Fare Roi, Haapape (Site 81), ground bare and level, no foundation of enclosing walls or *ahu* could be found: 1, upright 1 foot wide, 57 inches high; 2, 2 feet wide and high; 3, 2 feet wide, 5 feet 3 inches high; 4, 2.5 feet wide, 3 feet high, small coral platform, undoubtedly a grave, lies just east of upright, stone bowl between it and upright and two thin pieces of coral on edge against east face of upright; 5, 1 foot high; 6, 33 inches high; 7, 2 feet high with coral platform like that at 4; 8, fallen, 3.5 feet long, 2 feet wide, 8 inches thick; 10, 2 feet high.

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MOOREA

Varari District

Site 82. Marae Nuurua, at Varari (fig. 60).

This, one of the highest ranking arii maraes of Moorea, stands directly on the shore opposite Taota pass. Owing to the removal of the facing stones and some of the fill, the *ahu* has been reduced to a shapeless heap of coral heads and small basalt stones which made up the interior, but a small section of the first step on the inner face remains to show that the outward appearance of this platform conformed to that of Mahaiatea. The first course was of the squared coral blocks, the upper courses of round-faced stones. The same material and order of construction appears in the enclosing wall, which has been almost entirely removed except for the first course of embedded blocks, outlining the wall for almost its entire length by two parallel lines.

An interesting feature of this marae is the so-called "altar of human sacrifice" near the inner face of the *ahu* (fig. 60, no. 3). It is a prone basalt slab 7.5 feet long. The upper surface is honeycombed with natural cavities. The natives told us that at this stone men condemned to death were given a chance to redeem their lives by meeting the ordeal of repeating the word *ha'ipu,* touching each and every concavity of the rock, in one breath. The Routledges (48, p. 442) heard that certain of the depressions in this stone were "used to contain the eyes of victims." In her general description of maraes, Henry says (32, p. 135) that "upon the paving close in front of the marae was a great flat stone altar for human sacrifice."

A number of yards north and east of marae Nuurua are two small adjoining maraes, their *ahu* parallel to the long axis of the court of the large marae. The courts of the two smaller maraes lie on the north side of their *ahu.* The western *ahu* is about 32 feet long, 10 feet wide, and 8 or 10 feet high. It retains some of its original facing on the court side, and this is of courses of large, squared coral and basalt blocks—no small, round-faced blocks appear. The *ahu* may have been stepped, but this could not be determined from its present condition. A great dike-stone upright, 4 feet high, stands 3 feet out on the court and opposite the center of the *ahu;* opposite the left corner and also 3 feet distant is another upright, 2 feet high. Fourteen feet inland from this last is a small upright 6 inches high. The court is paved with basalt flags. If any enclosing wall existed it has disappeared.

Site 83. Marae at Poairoa, Varari, 200 yards from the shore (fig. 61; pl. 7, *C*). The court wall has been loosely rebuilt in several places with unworked stone.

Site 84. An immense stone-wall enclosure lying at Poairoa at the mouth of Varari Valley.

The enclosure, measuring 516 by 636 feet, with walls 8 to 10 feet thick, 3 to 6 feet high, is said to have been used for growing the chief's food. The chief was said to have been Tauaitaata of marae Nuurua. It is claimed that this chief lived in pre-European times and that the enclosure was built in his time. This may be true, but it would seem that part at least of the present facing is certainly post-European because it contains at the southwest corner a great quantity of worked marae stones placed without any respect to their normal positions. With numerous destroyed maraes in the vicinity, the source of these stones is obvious. On the shore at Tevaitai is an enclosure 41 feet long, 25 feet wide, with walls 2.5 feet wide, 3 feet high, also having haphazard in its facings some dressed marae stones.

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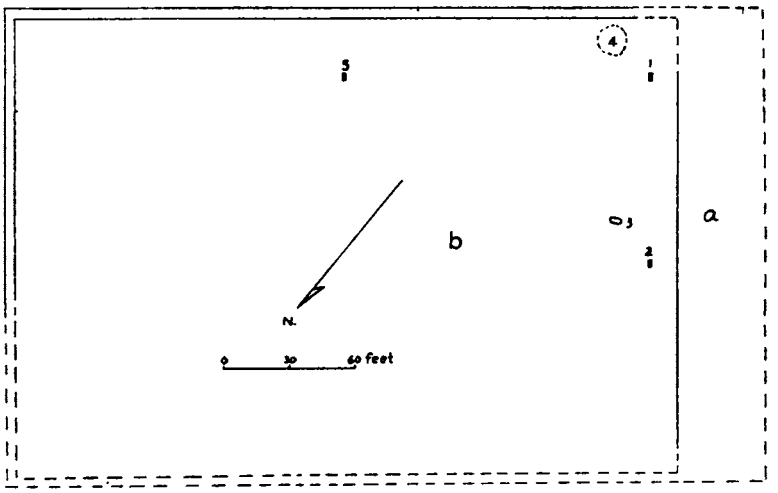

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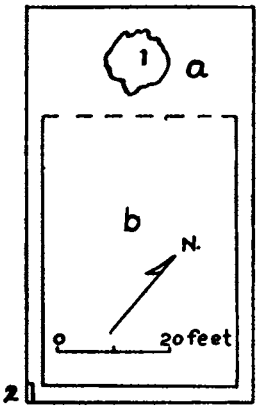

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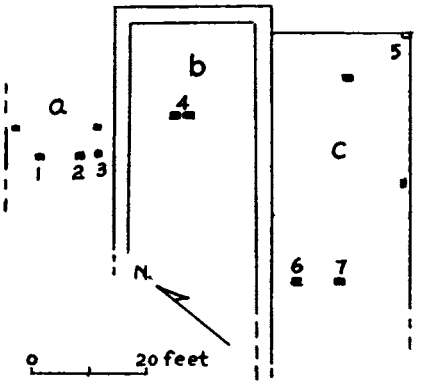

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FIGURE 60.—Marae Nuurua, at Varari (Site 82): *a, ahu,* now approximately 20 feet high; *b,* court 198 by 306 feet enclosed on north and west by foundations of stone wall; 1, basalt slab upright 36 inches high, 29 inches wide; 2, basalt slab upright 2 feet wide and at least 2 feet high; 3, prone basalt slab 7.5 feet long, 32 inches wide, 8 inches thick, said to be an altar for human sacrifices; 4, depression; 5, basalt slab upright 34 inches high, 18 inches wide at base.

FIGURE 61.—Marae at Poairoa, Varari (Site 83), length 70 feet, width 40 feet: *a,* ruined *ahu* heap 10 feet high, original facing has entirely slipped away but worked round-faced stones and squared coral blocks appear in pile, squared basalt cornerstones are standing; 1, gigantic *tamanu* tree 5 feet in diameter growing on center of *ahu; b,* paved court, surface 1 foot higher than land surrounding marae, enclosing wall 2 to 3 feet high on inside, 3 to 4 feet high on outside (pl. 7, *C*); 2, squared cornerstone.

FIGURE 62.—Maraes at Tehie, Varari (Site 86): *a,* unpaved court; *b,* paved court enclosed by foundations of coral wall 2.5 feet wide; *c,* paved court, enclosing wall destroyed; 1, basalt upright 18 inches high; 2, 15 inches high; 3, 20 inches high; 4, pair of basalt slabs 1.5 feet high, 2 feet wide, rounded toward top, leaning toward south end of court; 5, unworked basalt cornerstone; 6, 7, basalt upright 16 inches high.

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Site 85. Burial cist at Tahie (Tahi'e).

Monsieur Xavier Teroo, a local resident, told me that while digging a grave for an old woman who had wished to be buried at that spot he came to a flat slab 4 feet underground. Lifting up this slab he discovered a rectangular chamber lined and roofed with slabs and containing about 10 skeletons laid out at full length. This burial was not marked on the surface in any way.

Site 86. Three small adjoining maraes at Tahie between the road and the sea, in a coconut grove (fig. 62).

These maraes have been almost completely destroyed except for some of the uprights and traces of the enclosing walls of the courts. Inland of the road are five or six other small maraes grouped at one place. Uprights stand conspicuously in all directions, but the enclosing walls and *ahu* are gone save for their foundations. As none of the scattered stones in the vicinity are worked, it may be assumed that the facings in these maraes were of unworked stone.

Site 87. Burial niche back of Varari village.

The face of the bluff behind the village has a slanting, deep crevice which ends 30 feet from the level ground. Without the aid of ropes or ladders the crevice is inaccessible. Viewed from a tall tree near by, six adult skulls and the entire skeleton of a child were seen at the lower end.

Haapiti District

Site 88. Marae Fareia (Farei'a), at Tetauaru (fig. 64).

As we were measuring this marae an old native woman came out from a neighboring house to satisfy her curiosity. When asked what she knew about the marae she recounted the following. A giant dog, named Taarauoa, occasionally came on moonlight nights to the beach in front of the marae. He was said to be all white by some, but by others to be white-spotted. During these ghostly visits he was sometimes on an errand of mischief, sometimes on an errand of good. People living have heard him clawing the sand on the shore.

Site 89. Stone platform, a quarter of a mile south of marae Fareia at Tetauaru on the seaward side of the road and 20 feet from it.

An unusual structure, a solid stone platform 60 feet long, 30 feet wide, 5 feet high, on the south side faced with angular unworked stones (most of them basalt but a few of coral) averaging 1 foot in diameter. The long axis of the platform lies 70 degrees west of north and parallel to the road and to the beach, which is 100 yards distant. The top of the platform is level and paved with flagstones except for a low wall 4 feet wide, which divides the pavement in two, lengthwise. The northern division is not more than 12 feet wide, and is somewhat lower. Its surface is disrupted. No special cornerstones are to be seen. Between the platform and the beach are the ruins of walls and pavements not laid out in the usual manner of a marae court. Inland of the platform no trace of walls or a pavement could be found.

Fifty yards south of this platform and also parallel to the road are the remains of a marae *ahu*, 42 to 48 feet long.

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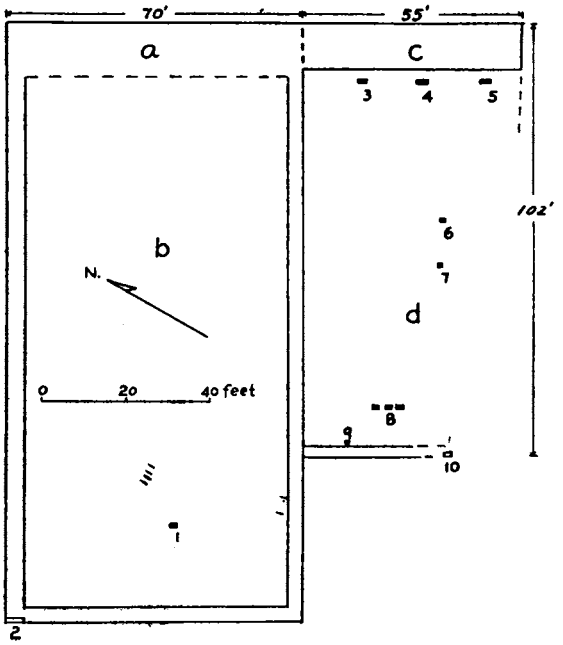
Site 90. Two adjoining maraes at Tepo, inland several hundred yards from the belt road (fig. 63; pl. 3, *B*).

The larger marae has a stepped *ahu*, and the smaller, a simpler platform *ahu* (pl. 3, *B*). The stepped *ahu* is faced with round-faced stones, some natural, some worked. The first course of each step, however, was undoubtedly constructed of the squared coral blocks which were observed scattered among the stones fallen from the *ahu*. Its court is enclosed by a wall faced outside with dressed stone, but inside with natural stones.



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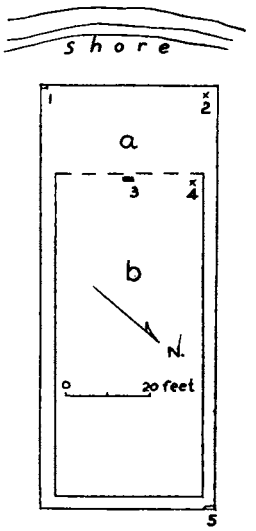

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FIGURE 63.—Two maraes at Tepo, Haapiti (Site 90): *a*, *ahu* 9 feet high with at least two steps on outer face and two on inner face, first step 3 feet wide; *b*, paved court enclosed by wall 2.5 feet high, 4 feet thick; *c*, *ahu* consisting of an unstepped platform 5.5 feet high, faced on outside with unworked round-faced stones but on inside with large square-cut blocks of coral (pl. 3, *B*); facing of south end completely gone; *d*, paved court enclosed by large marae on north, low wall on west, and traces of wall on south; 1, basalt upright 1.5 feet high; 2, squared cornerstone 32 inches high, 23 inches wide; 3-9, basalt uprights; 3, 25 inches high, 13 inches wide; 4, 37 inches high, 26 inches wide; 5, 24 inches high, 14 inches wide; 6, 18 inches high; 7, 24 inches high; 8, three slabs 12 inches high, leaning away from *ahu*, rough stone lamp 7 inches in diameter with cup depression 3 inches in diameter found in front of them; 9, 2 feet high; 10, basalt slab, if a cornerstone enclosure narrows from 55 feet at east end to 34 feet at west end.

FIGURE 64.—Marae Fareia, at Tetauaru, Haapiti (Site 88), width 42 feet, length 100 feet: *a*, mass of stones marking *ahu* which was faced with coral blocks and worked round-faced stones, present height 11 feet; *b*, paved court enclosed by wall 3.5 feet thick, faced on outside like the *ahu*, wall has been removed except for foundation stones; 1, squared basalt cornerstone; 2, 4 old *tamanu* trees; 3, basalt upright 2 feet high, rounded on top; 5, perfectly squared basalt cornerstone.

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The beautiful coral facing of the smaller *ahu* has been torn down, largely by natives hunting for hermit crabs. Thirty feet north of the larger marae a pair of uprights 1.5 feet high, 2 feet apart, were seen, and a larger pair near the west end.

Maatea District

Site 91. Marae Nuupure, Nuupure Point, situated on the very tip of the point.

A royal marae. The *ahu* measures 101 feet long, 36 to 42 feet broad, and at present 15 to 20 feet high. It had at least four steps faced in the usual manner of a first course of coral blocks (12 inches long, 10 inches high) and upper courses of worked round-faced stones. The long axis of the *ahu* lies 50 degrees east of north. The court is on the inland side of the *ahu*. It was enclosed by a wall faced on the outside like the facing of the *ahu*. The wall has been completely removed except for some foundation stones. On the court 1 foot from the north corner of the *ahu* stands a firmly planted limestone slab 4 feet 2 inches high, 34 inches wide, 11 inches thick. Among the scattered worked stones from the wall one of red tuff was found with two rounded faces shaped on one end.

Afareaitu District

Site 92. Marae Umarea, Afareaitu Village, on the tip of the long, flat sandy point south of the wharf (fig. 65).

The mass of stones forming the interior of the *ahu* and the foundations of an enclosing wall on the north and west survive. Small worked blocks having the exposed face rounded are scattered at the base of the *ahu* on both sides and along the lines of the enclosing walls; most of the facing stones have been collected by the villagers to form walls and enclosures of garden plots. The *ahu* measures 127 feet long, as it stands, but it may have extended as much as 10 feet farther on the south end. It is 32 to 34 feet wide, but as the lowest visible step on the sea face is 6 to 8 feet above the beach and as the debris indicates another and lower step, perhaps 3 feet should be added to the above width. The original facing of the *ahu* has been removed or displaced, exposing the construction of the interior, which is seen to be made up of coral heads 1.5 to 3 feet in diameter and basalt stones of similar size. The basalt stones were employed mainly in facing sections of the fill and show that the edifice was constructed in separate stages. These facings appear at several places in the ruin and some of them are indicated by a thin line in the plan. It seems that against one wall or section another was added and against that still another, and so on. Some of these sections are almost solidly of basalt rocks, others entirely of coral faced with rocks.

On the seaward face of the marae a row of the small, shaped, rounded blocks extends 40 feet or more at a level 6 to 8 feet above the sea. At some points part of another row is on top of it. At first glance these seem like the bottom two courses of a step of the platform, but inspection shows the carefully rounded faces, which were intended for the outside, are now facing inward, and the crude butts are exhibited exteriorly. These rows are partly cemented together by the action of lime on the fine debris between the stones. The explanation of their present position, therefore, is to be sought in the toppling and complete reversal of the facing of a higher step.

The present greatest height of the ruin toward the north end is at least 14 and perhaps 18 feet.

The walls of the enclosure are sharply defined over most of the north and west wall, there being a double line of coral blocks, basalt blocks, and oblong stones set on edge and embedded in the ground 3.5 to 7 feet apart. In a few places the rounded blocks of the first course of the exterior facing are in place. The west wall, which is the end wall, is

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the thicker. It completely disappears upon reaching the water's edge. Likewise there are no traces of a south wall in the water, which is about 1 foot deep, but near the point where the south wall would be expected to join the *ahu* of the marae there are a few scattered round blocks which may have belonged to a wall.

The interior of the enclosure before the platform is below sea level. This may originally have been filled in, or perhaps the point of land has sunk since the marae was built—not at all an impossibility in view of the rapid sinking of the north coast of Tahiti.

The Routledges (48, p. 441) give a plan of the marae with dimensions for the length of the *ahu*, and the walls, and for the height of the structure approximately those found by me, but the shape of the enclosure and of the *ahu* as described and as given in their plan is incorrect and misleading.

Site 93. Large marae on land Tetii, Afareaitu Village, 400 yards inland (fig. 66).

Three steps are visible on the outside face of the *ahu*. The first step of the outer face of the *ahu* has visible four courses of worked round-faced stones averaging 9 inches wide, 7 inches high, 9 inches deep. This first step is 38 inches high, 24 inches wide. The first course of the facing, however, which is buried, is of squared rectangular blocks. The second step is 17 inches high, 26 inches wide, 4 inches high, and 8 inches deep, but no squared blocks are visible in its facings. The third step has in place the three first courses of rounded stones, averaging 6 inches wide, 5 inches high, and 10 inches deep. As the height from the base of this step to the top of the *ahu* is 36 inches, another and higher step would seem to be indicated. The steps are strewn with coral pebbles.

Thirteen paces west of the southwest corner of this marae is the *ahu* of a smaller marae. It measures 35 feet long, 12 feet wide, and 5 to 6 feet in height, and lies with its long axis due north and south. Although most of the facing has slipped away, that of the first and second steps is to be seen at one point on the north face. The first course is of coral blocks, the upper courses of worked, rounded stones. The northwest cornerstone has been squared. A pavement adjoins the south face. If the pavement was enclosed by a wall, that wall has been removed. Against the west end of the *ahu* is a little rough enclosure, 15 feet in diameter, which may be of recent origin.

About a hundred yards still farther west, on land called Matairea, is a large marae in very dilapidated condition. The *ahu* is faced in the usual manner of the coastal maraes and lies with its long axis due north and south. The court adjoins the west face. The outside measurements of the enclosure are 96 and 35 feet.

Site 94. Marae Horora, on land Matati.

This marae, of the usual coastal type, stands in very fair condition to the north of Afareaitu Village and several hundred yards inland. It has been adequately described and figured by the Routledges (48, p. 440), who found the *ahu* to be 67 feet long, 19 feet wide, 11 feet high, and the enclosure 67 feet wide, 154 feet long.

Site 95. Marae Teroro, land Tearataha (fig. 67).

Half an hour's walk up the center of the valley from the village wharf brings one onto the lower slopes of a spur which is now open pasture land. The spur is dotted with ruins of house sites and small maraes. Beyond the upper edges of the pasture, about a hundred yards in the bush, is the marae of Teroro which with some of the surrounding land had recently been cleared for a vanilla plantation. Our guide and informant, Tama, said a fire had been built upon it to chase away the evil spirit (*varua*), which was a female, and that the spirit had gone to Vaihi.

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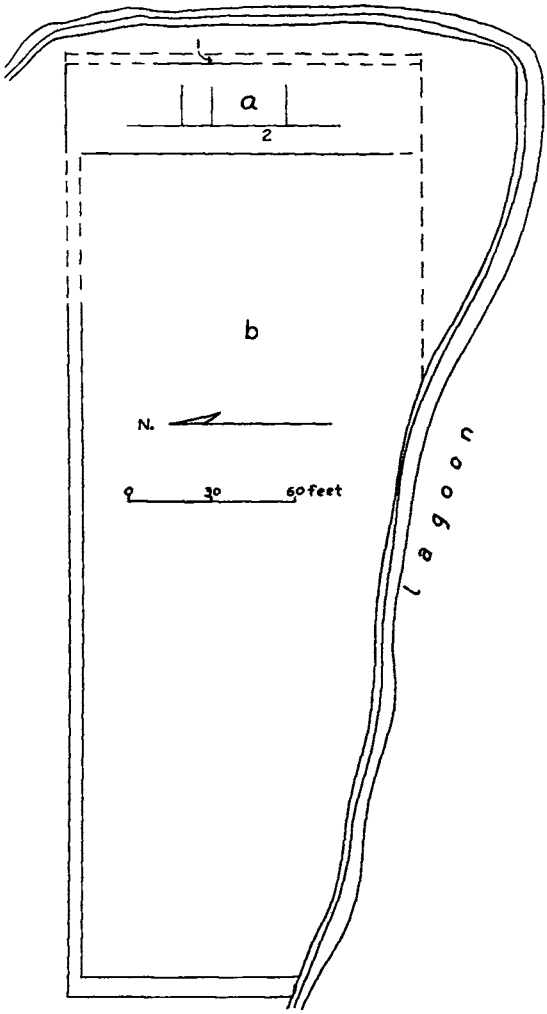

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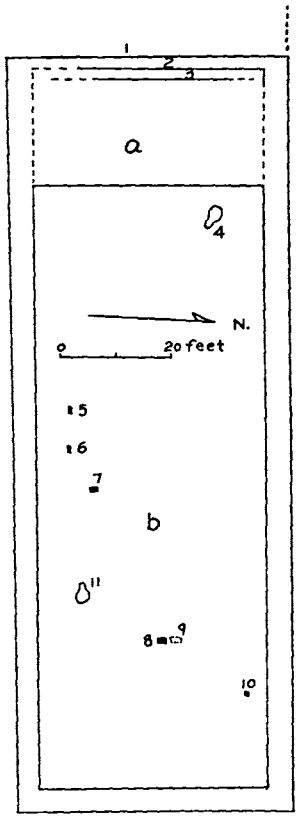

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FIGURE 65.—Marae Umarea, Afareaitu Village (Site 92), width 127 feet, length 326 feet: *a, ahu,* at present 14 to 18 feet high; *b,* court on which ironwood and *tamanu* trees 3 to 6 feet in diameter grow, court bordered on north and south by foundations of wall ranging from 3.5 to 6 feet in width; 1, section of shaped stones of seaward face; 2, revealed interior facing of fill of *ahu,* intersected at right angles by three visible interior facings.

FIGURE 66.—Marae at Tetii, Afareaitu (Site 93), length 140 feet, width 50 feet: *a, ahu* 8 feet high faced with rounded blocks; *b,* paved court enclosed by wall 5 feet wide, 2.5 feet high, faced on inside with natural stones of varying sizes but on outside with stones of even size some of them worked; 1, 2, 3, visible on outer face; 4, prostrate slab 39 inches long, 22 inches wide at bottom, 12 inches wide at top, 7 inches thick; 5-10, basalt uprights; 5, dike column 20 inches high, 12 inches wide, rounded on top; 6, 14 inches high, 12 inches wide, flat on top; 7, 19 inches high, 14 inches wide, 12 inches thick (pl. 7, *B*); 8, 2 feet high, 20 inches wide at bottom, 7 inches wide at top, 3 inches thick; 9, fallen; 10, 15 inches high, 18 inches wide, 6 inches thick; 11, prone slab.

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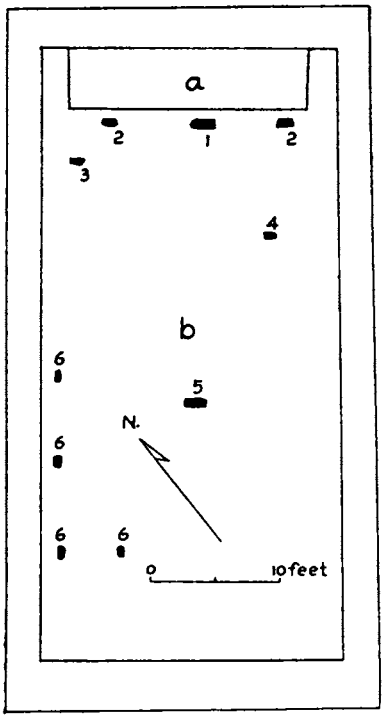
The entire marae is perfectly preserved. It lies along the length of the spur with the *ahu* against the wall on the downslope side. There is a space of a little more than 2 feet between its ends and inner side of the low side walls of the enclosure. It is entirely faced in a singular manner with small, entire coral heads, all of the same size. (See pl. 3, *A*.) The corals average 8 inches in diameter and 4 inches high. The top of the *ahu* is flat and paved with large, flat basalt blocks, unwrought. There are three unusually large basalt uprights a foot in front of the *ahu*.

The enclosure is symmetrical and 30 feet wide and 57 feet long. The wall of the enclosure is constructed of rocks of irregular shapes and uneven sizes in a neat flat facing. Among the northeast cornerstones is a block of coral, and the southwest corner has a cut block of sedimentary, pink lava rock. The top of the wall is laid with large, flat basalt slabs. Its width is 26 to 34 inches, and its outside height 2.5 feet to 4 feet, the maximum inside height being 38 inches. About the *ahu* it is only 1 foot high and therefore lower than the altar. The interior of the enclosure has been partly filled, and paved with large, flat stones.



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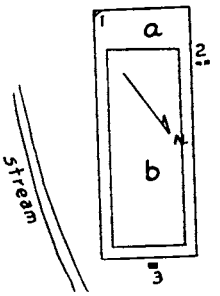

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FIGURE 67.—Marae Teroro, Tearataha, Afareaitu (Site 95), length 57 feet, width 30 feet: *a*, *ahu* 30 inches high faced with coral heads (pl. 3, *A*), rises above enclosing wall at back; *b*, paved court with enclosing walls 1 to 3 feet high; 1-5, basalt uprights; 1, 63 inches high, 20 inches wide at base, 7 inches thick; 2, 3 feet high; 3, 21 inches high; 4, 8 inches high, 10 inches wide, 3 inches thick; 5, 19 inches high, 19 inches wide, 6 inches thick; 6, 8 inches high. (See fig. 6, *c*.)

FIGURE 68.—Marae at Tauteata, Teavaro (Site 97), length 51 feet, width 20 feet: *a*, *ahu* faced with coral blocks and round-faced stones, 4 feet high, stepped; *b*, paved court enclosed by low wall faced on outer side by round-faced stones; 1, squared cornerstone of basalt; 2, basalt uprights 1 foot high; 3, upright block of red tuff.

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Fifty feet directly below Teroro marae is another, 11 by 25 paces (33 by 75 feet), also lying the length of the spur, but the *ahu* is on the uphill side and differs from the last in being faced on the inner face at least and perhaps on the ends with large coral blocks similar to those in the face of the marae on the land Tepo, Haapiti district. There are three uprights in front of the altar and at least one out on the paved space of the enclosure. The cornerstones are worked, squared blocks, but otherwise the wall is constructed of natural stones. Adjoining this marae down the slope is at least one other smaller marae which has uprights and, furthermore, the small, worked, rounded stones. Adjoining the west side are at least two small maraes, one of which has the rounded stones in its construction.

Teavaro District

Site 96. Marae at Ofaipapa, a quarter of a mile inland.

The enclosure is 31 feet wide, 62 feet long, with paved court and walls 2 feet high. The outer face, at least, of court walls and *ahu* were faced with dressed stone. West and downslope a few yards from this marae is a small one which has no *ahu* and for an enclosing wall merely a line of large oblong stones embedded on edge. It measures 30 feet long, 15 feet wide. At the center of one end is a basalt upright 1 foot high, and at a corner of the same end an upright 18 inches high. Near the opposite end stand three slab uprights 1 foot high leaning toward that end.

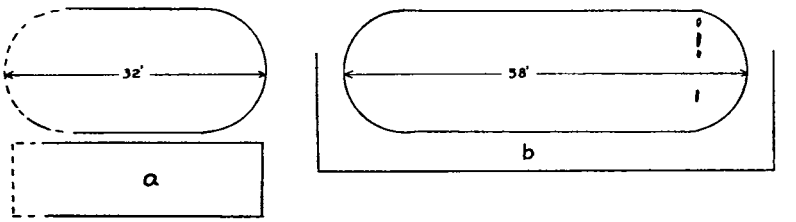

Figure 69.—House sites at Titiroa, Opunohu (Site 98), plan outlined by stones embedded in ground, no worked stone: *a*, pavement; *b*, terrace 2 feet high along front.

Site 97. Marae on land Tauteata, inland an eighth of a mile (fig. 68).

A few yards distant is another marae named Apai on land called Parauoro. It is oriented like the last, and the enclosure measures about 20 feet wide, 30 feet long. No worked stones appear in the ruin.

Site 98. House sites, Titiroa, several miles inland, Opunoho Valley (fig. 69).

In a great forest of *mape* trees and on either side of a stream are numerous house terraces averaging 2 feet high along the front, 15 to 30 feet wide, and 30 to 100 feet long. On three of these terraces a round-ended house is marked by an oval of oblong stones embedded on edge. Two of them are shown in figure 69. The third has a paving 10 feet wide on the front of the terrace, where, along the front edge and parallel to it, stand two slabs 2 feet high, 1.5 feet wide, 5 inches thick, leaning slightly outward. The back part of the terrace is occupied by a line of embedded stones describing an oval about 25 feet wide and 60 feet long. Several small pavements were seen with one to three basalt uprights, and also three rectangular enclosures, one 20 feet wide, 40 feet long, another 45 feet square, with one or two uprights at one end, no coral, and no cut stones. No *ahu* could be found within these enclosures. These are all probably remnants of shrines. Three typical inland maraes were found, two of which are described in Sites 99 and 100.

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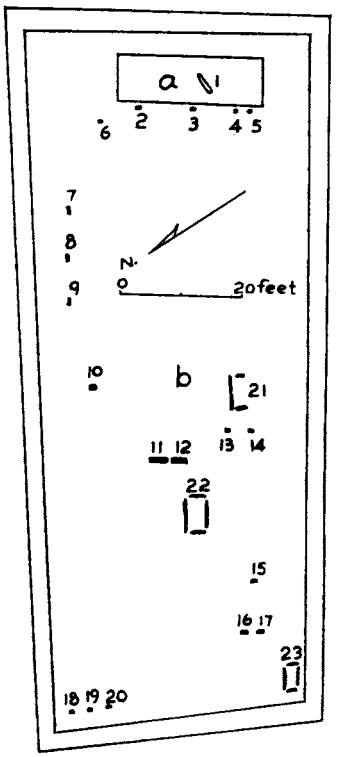
Site 99. Large marae at Titiroa, interior of Opunoho Valley, in a dense grove of *mape* trees and on a flat-topped ridge (fig. 70). The corners of the enclosure are constructed of natural blocks of dike stone carefully selected and fitted to make an even and perpendicular wall. Slabs are laid along the top of the wall.



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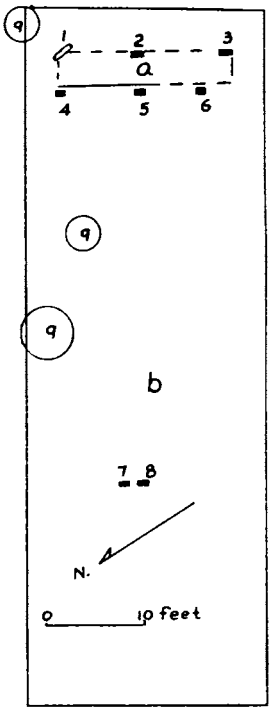

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FIGURE 70.—Large marae at Titiroa, interior of Opunoho Valley (Site 99), length 122 feet on longer side, 52 feet on wider side: *a*, *ahu* 20 inches high, faced with natural stones, no coral appears along front, but pieces of thin slabs scattered 6 to 10 feet in front; *b*, court, partly paved and surrounded by wall 2 to 3.5 feet high, 3 to 3.5 feet wide; 1-23, basalt uprights; 1, 3 feet long, lying prone; 2, 21 inches high; 3, 28 inches high; 4, 18 inches high; 5, 23 inches high; 6, 14 inches high; 7-10, 15 inches high; 11, 12, 10 inches high, 2 to 3 feet wide, 4 inches thick; 13, 14, 1 foot high; 18-20, 8 inches high; 21-23, thin pieces of coral 8 inches high framing rectangle 1 foot wide, 3.5 feet long.

FIGURE 71.—Small marae at Titiroa, interior of Opunoho Valley (Site 100), length 70 feet, width 24 feet: *a*, *ahu* 1 foot high covered along front with thin pieces of coral; *b*, platform partly paved, 2 feet above surrounding ground in some places and flush with it in others; 1-8, basalt uprights; 1, fallen; 2, 25 inches high, 12 inches wide, 7 inches thick; 3, 30 inches high, 6 inches wide; 4, 20 inches high, 8 inches wide; 5, 2 feet high; 7, 22 inches high, 20 inches wide, 6 inches thick; 8, 19 inches high, 16 inches wide, 6 inches thick; 9, *mape* trees.

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Site 100. Small marae at Titiroa, Opunoho Valley (fig. 71). The marae is surrounded by others, smaller and more in ruin.

Site 101. Marae (?) at Afareaito, Opunoho Valley (fig. 72). Off 10 yards to one side of the marae is a platform 16 feet wide, 27 feet long, built of flat stones. (Record by Handy.)

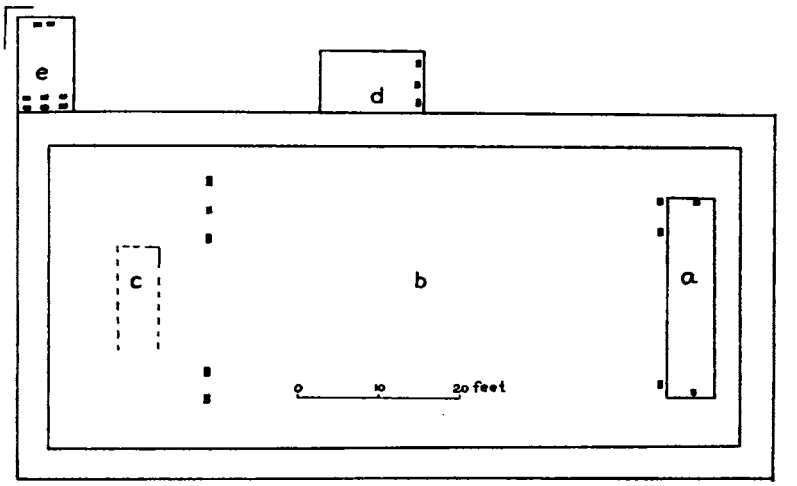

FIGURE 72.—Marae at Afareaito, Opunoho Valley (Site 101), width 45 feet, length 93 feet: *a, ahu* platform 2 feet high faced with natural basalt blocks, two basalt uprights stand on *ahu* and three along face as shown; *b,* court paved with rough stones and enclosed by wall 2 to 3 feet high; *c,* unpaved space outlined by curbs; *d,* pavement of flagstones at one end of which stand three basalt slab uprights; *e,* pavement of flagstones resting on low terrace, eight basalt uprights standing.

FAATOAI DISTRICT

Site 102. Marae Taputapuatea, at juncture of village wharf with shore.

The marae has been destroyed except for remains of a pavement of large flagstones. I was able to find, however, 10 worked round-faced stones about the site and a basalt slab 3 feet long, 2 feet wide, 8 inches thick which was probably one of the principal uprights. At the beginning of the wharf stands a slender dike column 4 feet high, connected with this marae and called Turamarafea (32, p. 130).

Site 103. Inland village site at Apootaata (fig. 73). The ruins are situated between two streams and on a slope at the base of a cliff. (Record by Handy.)

Marae (figs. 73, *a;* 74). The *ahu* is faced with cut coral blocks in the first, second, and fourth course, and natural basalt slabs in the third course. The coral blocks are cut flat on five sides, the back being left rough. Outside of the marae but just below the *ahu* lies a dike column 3 feet long.

Two platforms (fig. 73, *b*). The eastern platform has one erect basalt slab. The western platform is 21 feet long, 9 feet wide, and more than 2 feet high. It is paved

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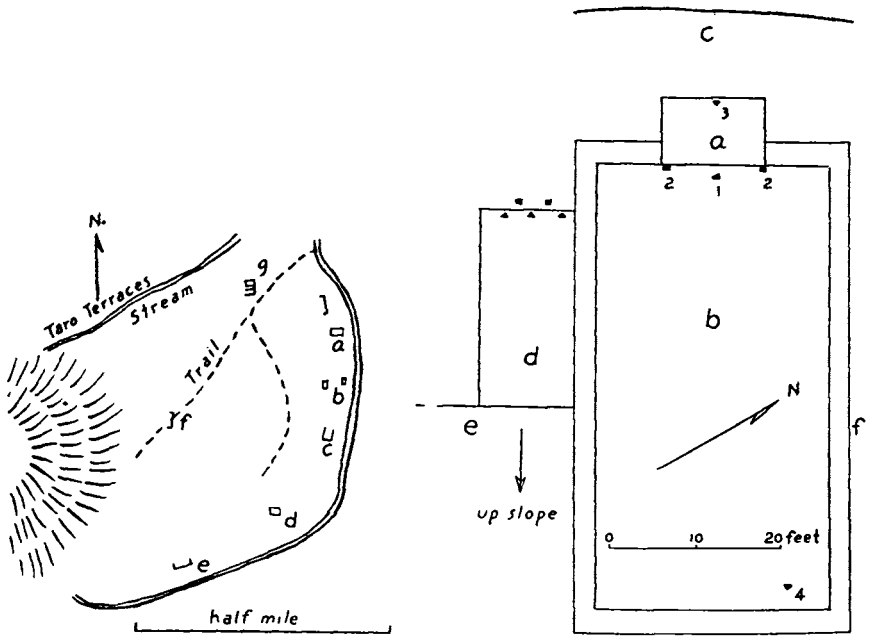
with flags and has a standing dike column near the southwest corner and a fallen one 4 feet long. In the middle of the north end of this platform is an exposed vault 2 feet wide, 1 foot high, and about 8 feet long. The sides are formed of slabs on edge, the roof of flat slabs laid across the top.

Terrace (fig. 73, *c*). The lowest of a series of more than 30 terraces extending up the hillside. Just below this terrace is a roughly walled enclosure on the upper side of what appears to be a trail passing between two small uprights which resemble a gateway. To the right and left of this point and upland, platforms and terraces are more numerous than elsewhere. Breadfruit, *vi*, and papaia trees are numerous in the vicinity. The terraces become fewer towards and beyond the marae at figure 73, *d*.

Marae (fig. 73, *d*). The northern marae is an enclosure 48 feet wide, 96 feet long. The walls average 2 feet in height. The *ahu* apparently stretched across the east end and was faced with the squared coral blocks which lie about on the court. In the north



73 74

FIGURE 73.—Sketch map of inland village site at Apootaata, Faatoai (Site 103): *a-g*, ruins.

FIGURE 74.—Marae at Apootaata, Faatoai (fig. 73, *a*): *a*, earth-filled *ahu* 18 inches high, 8 feet wide, 12 feet long; *b*, court paved with flagstones and enclosed by wall averaging 3 feet high and 4 feet thick, western half of pavement below level of slope, hence walls here are really retaining walls; *c*, facing wall of terrace on which marae stands; *d*, terrace with pavement on same level as that of enclosure, on eastern margin stand three dike prisms and just below this terrace two small dike columns; *e*, long irregular terrace; *f*, small paved terrace on which lie several dike stones; 1-3, uprights; 1, dike prism 4 feet 4 inches high, 1 foot 4 inches on a side; 2, basalt column 1.5 feet high, pointed at top and almost touching *ahu*; 3, similar to 1 but smaller and fallen; 4, large, low upright triangular in cross section.

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end of the *ahu* is a cist 1 foot wide, 3 feet long. The southern marae (?) is a platform 12 feet wide and 66 feet long.

Ruin (fig. 73, *e*). A small platform surrounded by terraces. At figure 73, *f*, is a large platform surrounded by others.

Two maraes (figs. 73, *g*; 75).

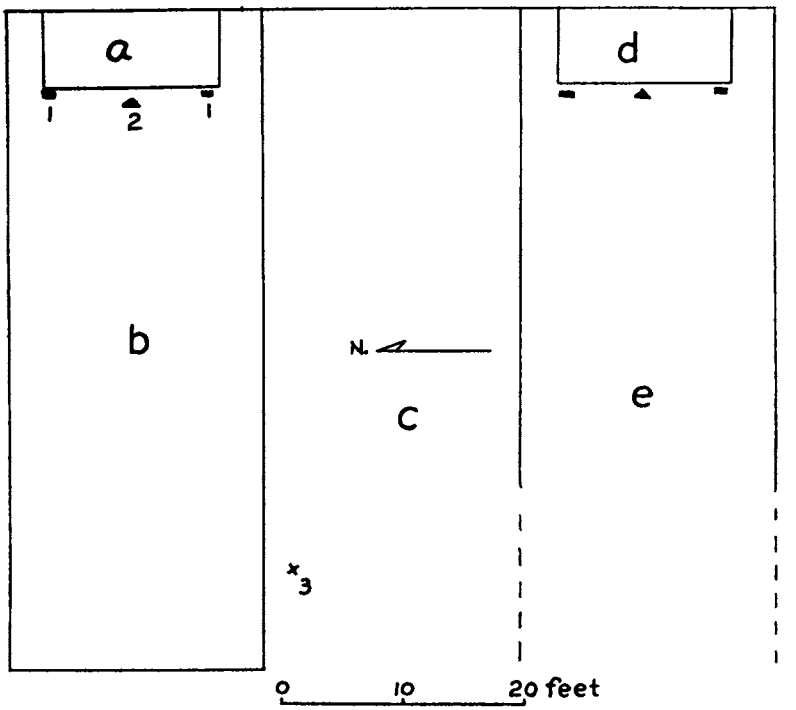

FIGURE 75.—Maraes at Apootaata, Faatoai (fig. 73, *g*): *a*, *ahu* 2.5 feet high faced with courses of squared coral blocks averaging 10 inches long, 6 inches high, 10 inches thick, filled with coral and stone rubble; *b*, paved court 21 by 54 feet, north wall 3 to 4 feet high; *c*, unpaved terrace; *d*, *ahu* of upper marae, filled with small rocks and chunks of brain coral and faced with natural stones, facing partly concealed by line of thin coral slabs set on edge along front of *ahu*, central of the three uprights is 2.5 feet high; *e*, paved court; 1, small dike column; 2, pointed dike prism 4.5 feet high; 3, place of discovery of stone image (Papeete Museum, no. 72).

MEETIA

HISTORICAL NOTE

The bold volcanic cone of Meetia, rising steeply out of the sea to a height of 1,400 feet, 60 miles east of Tahiti, was the ancient point of departure from the Society Islands to the great atoll world of the Tuamotus, the land of the Tapuhoe. Conversely, it was the gateway to Tahiti for those coming from the east. The island lay on an early route of Tahitian trade for pearl shell to be made into ornaments, fishhooks, and fish lures, and the Meetia

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people attended to this Tuamotu trade. Wilson (58, p. 403), writing in 1797, reveals this trade relationship:

> Maitea is subject to a chief of Tiaraboo [Taiarapu peninsula, Tahiti] . . . The communication is by a large war canoe which makes a voyage or two annually, taking advantage of the northwesterly wind to go thither, and of the trade wind to return. From this island they chiefly obtain their pearls and pearl shells, with dishes and stools of tammanoo, and other articles. Tapihoe [Tapuhoe], famous for pearls, lies farther on in the same direction. In return for what they receive, they carry nails and such ironwork as they can spare; and this passes in exchange to more distant islands.

Before the coming of the European, the Meetia natives doubtless traded stone pounders and adzes. This would account for the adzes and pounders of the common Tahitian type which are found in the Tuamotus as far east as Hao and Amanu, and as far north as Napuka.

Meetia is about 3 miles in circumference. A narrow, elevated, fertile shelf running for a mile around the southeast and south shore afford attractive land for a limited cultivation and habitation. A spring in the center of the plateau and a well on the southeast coast supplied drinking water.

The native name of the island was Meetu (Me'etu). During Pomare's ascendency, as his sacred name was Tu, Meetu was changed to Meetia. The spelling of Meetia as Mehetia on some present day maps has undoubtedly arisen through interpretation of the glottal stop as an *h*, an error which the French ear is particularly prone to make. The name of the island in the ancient chants of the Tuamotus occurs as Meketu, and the name of its great marae, Irakau.

Corney (14, vol. 3, p. 198), on the authority of Tahitian sages, says the ancient name of Meetia was Tuhua. I believe Tuhua is a mistranscription for Tuhiva, which seems to have been an ancient appellation from the name of an ancient chief of Meetia who was called Te-kura-o-Tuhiva.

Captain Wallis discovered the island in 1767. Those who went ashore estimated that there were at least 100 inhabitants (31, vol. 3, pp. 430-432). Several large double canoes were seen on the beach.

The Spaniards, in 1772, were the next to touch at Meetia. The party which came ashore landed at the canoe landing on the west coast (Fatiapo, fig. 76), ascended the plateau, and followed along the beaten trail which crosses the length of the plateau to the east coast (14, vol. 1, pp. 292-297, vol. 2, pp. 38-41). A short way along the trail they came to the first plantations (at Matahiva). There they found a group of five palm-thatched houses having a maximum height of 10 feet, a width of 11 to 12 feet, and a length of 22 to 28 feet. The sides of the houses were open, the ground floors strewn with grass. In one hut a jawbone was hanging up, and in another was a stool headrest. Of other household furniture they saw only baskets, and coconut and lauhala mats. Each house had a fence around it. They met a

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woman followed by a black and tan puppy with pointed ears. Farther on they noted a pen in which were several fine pigs. Then they came on to a marae enclosure 55 to 70 feet square, "fenced in with stones a vara [33 inches] in width." Within the enclosure (14, vol. 1, p. 296) was

> . . . a platform raised step above step [a stepped *ahu*] and adorned with some posts [*unu*] on which were carvings or characters among which the figure of a small dog was preeminent in every case. . . . A little farther along we found seven huts like the ones we had passed. Here an Indian came up to us with two calabashes full of fresh water. . . . The situation from which he brought them is at the south side of the island. . . . Seeing that little was to be gained by visiting it and that it would mean a lot of clambering up and down, I decided to turn back by the way we had come. All the rest of the declivity from the hill to the beach is very fertile, and beautified by small trees in great variety and many tracts of uncultivated woodland.

The marae which the Spaniards saw is probably the one in ruins at Site 107 (fig. 76, no. 4), where a line of about six adjoining red tuff slabs from 2.5 to 4 feet wide and 3 to 4 feet high are standing along the east side of the court apparently as the sole remnant of the enclosing wall. No other marae has an enclosure of stones a "vara" in width. Also, just beyond this marae are a number of house sites from which a trail leads down to the south coast. If the Spaniards had continued a little farther, they would doubtless have come across a third and probably most important group of houses, those east of marae Mahutoa.

Breadfruit, hala, coconuts, a number of varieties of bananas, and yams, were noted. The population was estimated as being about 150 (14, vol 2, p. 73). Five to eight small canoes came out to their ship.

The Spaniards also learned (14, vol. 2, p. 264) that:

> They [natives of Tahiti] also punish some offences by banishments for which purpose certain islands in his dominions are appointed, as in the case with Maitu [Meetia] . . . which is subject to the rule of Vehiatua [chief of Taiarapu peninsula, Tahiti].

At Tahiti the Spaniards were told (14, vol. 1, p. 358) that Meetia had a large canoe, a *pahi* "which they kept hauled up on the hillside in order that she may not be stolen: no doubt she is taken to pieces in sections."

Legend of Tuhiva

There is a legend, well known to the Tuamotuans, explaining how and when Meetia came under the dominion of Tautira, Tahiti. It is put in the time of the great Rarotongan, Tuamotuan, and Tahitian hero, Honokura, who stands 31 generations back from 1900 on the Punaauia genealogy (25, genealogy 9, section 5, generation 31), but a genealogy of a Meetia family places Tuhiva at only 19 generations. I am giving here a free rendering of the legend as written by Paea of Anaa Island, and as corroborated by Tetumu of Faite Island:

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When Te-kura-o-Tuhiva (The-sacred-crimson-bird-of-Tuhiva) was living on Meetia, as the supreme chief of the island, he was noted for his hospitality.

Rua-kaua of Tautira, Tahiti, father of Honokura, set forth on a voyage and came to Meetia. When Te-kura-o-Tuhiva saw him passing, he called out, "Ko vai ariki e eke mai ai te tua o Meketu-nui-ki-te-vai-ava?" (Who is the chief who is voyaging around the back[8] of Great-Meetia-of-the-brackish-water?)

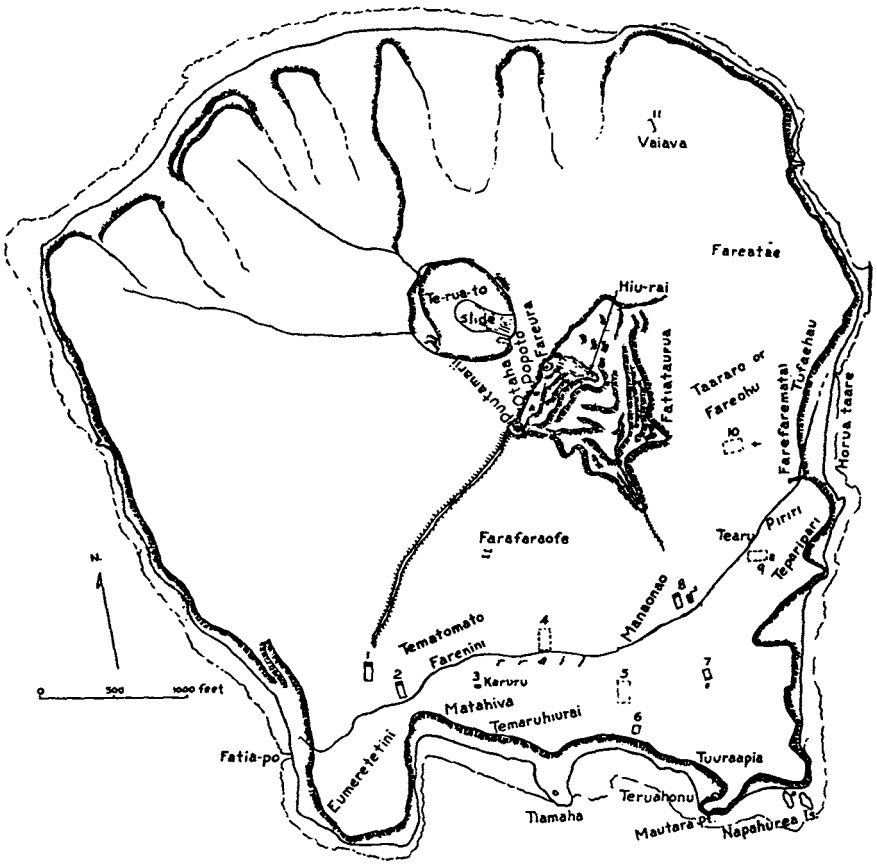

FIGURE 76.—Map of Meetia, Society Islands. Based on a survey made by F. Hérault in 1928.

Kaua answered, "Ko vau ia, o Kaua Nui!" (It is I, mighty Kaua!) His was the staff named Rua-i-havahava.

Te-kura-o-Tuhiva then addressed him thus: "A haere mai ra e, e te ariki o Tahiti e!" (Come, then, Chief of Tahiti!)

When Kaua stood beside him, Te-kura-o-Tuhiva said, "Ka pua tou tere" (Tell me the reason for your journey).

Kaua responded, "I made this journey to meet you because I heard you were a man who knew how to entertain."

[8] In Hawaii the *kua* or back of an island is the windward side.

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Te-kura-o-Tuhiva then invited him to stay. He set about preparing the food of the land and ordered his men to do all that was necessary for the entertainment of Kaua. When all were gathered on the *tahua* called Hikuragi, the feasting commenced. When Kaua had been long at it, he was entirely satisfied. He then said to Te-kura-o-Tuhiva, "I had heard that you were a man of wealth and accomplishments, now I know that you are. I am very pleased with your treatment of me."

Te-kura-o-Tuhiva gave his wife to Kaua, and he slept with her. When he left to go back to Tautira, he returned her to her husband.

When Kaua revisited Meetia, the wife of Te-kura-o-Tuhiva was known to be pregnant from him. When Te-kura-o-Tuhiva had observed this, he had said to her, "Kua roaka to taua taki ki Tahiti Nui" (Our genealogy has been transferred to Tahiti).

When the woman gave birth the child was named Ruarei, in accordance with Kaua's instructions, "Kia to noa'tu oe e kia hanau mai, e topa koe i te igoa nei, o Ruarei" (If you become pregnant and give birth, name the child Ruarei).

Hence the saying that this land (of Meetia) is Tahiti Nui of Ruarei. (*No reira i reko hia'i taua henua nei e ko Tahiti Nui a Ruarei.*)

While Kaua was dwelling alone in his land, Honokura, his son, having gone off to the Tuamotus in search of the warrior Toarere, the tribes of Raka and Purumeamea descended upon him and killed him.

Chant of Meetia

The chant of Meetia, known and sung today by the natives who have lived on the island, makes a reference to the time when it stood independent:

> Let not mighty Me'etu be overrun by the Manahune,
> Be vigilant lest usurpers invade the land of Tuhiva.

Tetumu, the reciter of the song, says that the Manahune referred to were the people of Tahiti and Moorea. At a great meeting at Takume, in the central Tuamotus, which he attended some 40 years ago, the people of Raiatea, Tahaa, Borabora, Huahine, and all the Leeward Society Islands were referred to as Te Marama, the people of Tahiti and Moorea as Te Manahune, and the people of the northwestern Tuamotus, as Te Vahitu.

I am indebted to Tetumu and his wife Vahine-tau for the chant, and to J. Frank Stimson for the translation:

Me'etu-nui-i-te-vai-'ava'ava,	Mighty - Me'etu-of-the-brackish-waters!
Hi'ura'i i ta'i hia e te 'oma'oma'o,[4]	Mountain-spur-of-the-skies resounding to the cries of the woodland-thrush!
Horua-ta'are, 'a fati a Ta'u-rua,	(It is the place called) Thundered-upon-by-charging-combers at last bursting upon the Rock-of-(the-planet)-Venus!
Rave hia Te-ara-hihi e Tufahau i Te-ara-ta, i Hopuhopu-hia, Hopuhopuai'a	Tu-dealer-of-blows took the path called The-winding-trail, the Trail-on-the-brink-of-the-precipice, leading on to (the place called) Bathed-in-the-breakers, to (the place called) Bathed-in-the-violent-breakers;

[4] O Hiurai; hahi hia i te pou nuu (Tati's note, 53, p. 30).

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'A vehe te 'ura i Hi'ura'i, 'a 'ato i te pua o te atae,	Rapturous were the sacred-crimson-birds (flitting over) the peak called Spur-of-the-skies while plucking the red-flowers of the *atae* (*Erythrina*),
'Eiaha ra Me'etu-nui 'oi maumau hia e te Manahune!	Let not Mighty-Me'etu be over-run by the Manahune!
'A ara, 'a o te 'eia i te fenua o Tuhiva!	Be vigilant lest usurpers invade the land of Tuhiva!
Tuorooro mai Ororimu i ni'a i Te-rua-honu,	From above (the place called) The-turtle-pit Ororimu (Sprig-of-moss) shouted hither;
'Ua tere ha'apapa Pae-noa e i ni'a i Po-hatu-o-'Oro; Te-ara-pota'a, Temihi-a-te-tane, te ara ti'a ra;	Pae-noa (Drifting-aimlessly) pursued him all the way to (the place called) Rock-of-Oro, (to) The-twisting-trail, (to the place called) The-plaint-of-the-husband, (to) the path there;
Te i Paru-'o'iri Te-au-tapapa, 'a heva iti e i Te-ana-tapairu;	(The woman called) Pursuing-delight was at (the place called) The-oiri-fish, while weeping plaintively (at the place called) The-cave-of-beauteous maidens;
Heru a'e nei au i te umu opi'o,	I have scraped out the slow-baking oven,
Na ni'a Haera'i i te haere i Te-au-pure-pure, Te-fana-pu'u;	(He who was called) Sky-shot-with-gleams-of-Light went by way of the heights to the place called The-discolored-rapids, to The-knoll-of-bows;
Fariu ta'u mata i muri, ta'u hi'o ra'a tu i na pu-toru ri'i,'ua reva ratou i reira.	My eyes glanced backward, and then I saw the Triplets—they had departed thither.
Na maeha'a ho'i teie, O Ra' i-ura, Ra'i-reia, Ra'i-mata, Te riro e ti'ati'a mou'a, Meetu Nui e, Meetu Nui.	These are the triplets: Raiura, Raireia, Raimata, who became ferns of Meetu Nui.

Ruins

The following record was made during a four-day stay on the island, December 13-16, 1930. I was assisted by Mr. H. D. Skinner of New Zealand, and we were accompanied by Mr. Martin L. Grant, Botanist on the staff of Bernice P. Bishop Museum, who made a botanical and geological survey of the island. The expedition was made possible through the coöperation of Mr. A. Krainer, who owned the greater part of the island. Mr. Krainer completed our party. We are indebted to him for the excellent map of the island (fig. 76). Living on Meetia at the time of our visit were two native families. Although not well acquainted with Meetia traditions, they knew the location of the marae ruins. To these they gladly guided us, besides helping in many other ways to make our visit comfortable and profitable.

Six maraes in a fair state of preservation, and traces of four others were seen. It is possible that other marae sites escaped notice. A number of house sites are marked by simple terraces. Some plots of land are enclosed by low,

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loosely built stone walls. Ancient clearings on those parts of the plateau covered with a depth of soil are still kept under cultivation. Among the 10 pounders and 28 adzes observed, there were no forms not common to Tahiti. The absence of any pounders having a bar head is noteworthy.

We climbed to the summit of the island and descended to the bottom of its crater. No stone structures were found in or about it. The steep cinder slopes of the pit were overgrown with ferns and hau bushes. Growing in the very bottom was *ape* and a clump of *fei*.

Site 104. Marae at Tematomato, Meetia (figs, 8, *b*; 76, no. 1; 77).

The *ahu* stands on the uphill end of a long court. The facing of the *ahu* and the terraces on which it stands is of squared stones (pl. 8, *B*); bands of small squared pieces of coral run through it. There were probably also bands of pumice, for small, black, squared pumice stones were seen scattered about. The court side walls have squared stones and beach stones scattered through them at wide intervals, as if the wall had been rebuilt with material from the destroyed marae. The downhill end of the court is a terrace roughly faced and 5 feet high. The outer end of the court was strewn with a large number of small coral blocks suggesting that a platform formerly stood there.

Site 105. Marae at Tematomato, Meetia (figs. 8, *a*; 76, no. 2; 78).

The *ahu* is built on a terrace on the uphill end of a long, narrow, enclosed court. The rear of the *ahu* is only one course of stones above the level of the ground; the front and sides are faced with a first course of red tuff blocks set on edge and upper courses of squared tuff, porous basalt, coral, and black pumice stones. (See pl. 8, *A*.) The outer facing is against an inner rough facing. Most of the upper end of the enclosing walls have been reconstructed, as proved by the poorer quality of the workmanship and the dressed *ahu* stones scattered through the wall. But at the lower end, sections of the original wall are intact. The stones are blocklike pieces of lava neatly laid up, and along the top is laid a row of beach stones. (See pl. 8, *A*.) The court is paved with large beach stones. The outer end, instead of ending in a wall, terminates in two terraces each faced with a first course of red tuff blocks. An old ironwood tree grows on one side of these terraces.

Lying among the debris of the *ahu* facing of this marae was the grooved coral stone shown in figure 2, *d*.

Adjoining the east side of the marae is a paved enclosure, apparently a house site made of stone from this marae, or from another marae which may have stood on the site.

Site 106. Solitary beach-stone upright known as Karuru, 2.5 feet high, 2 feet in diameter. It served, so far as I could learn, as a boundary stone.

Site 107. Site of a large marae into the construction of which went a number of large, red tuff slabs from Teruahonu beach.

At present the site has been carefully cleared for cultivation. Two low, very roughly constructed parallel walls run inland about 200 feet from the trail. Interrupting a middle section of the east wall is a line of slabs 2.5 to 4 feet wide, 3 to 4 feet high, 10 inches thick. The tops of the slabs are not on the same level line but rise with the slope. Lying prone midway between the two walls at this point is a perfectly squared slab about 4 feet long, 2 feet wide. The situation of the *ahu* was not discovered. The slabs in the east wall may have been taken from the *ahu*, and the two boundary walls may be entirely modern. As this site was not discovered until we were about to embark, we did not have time to study it.

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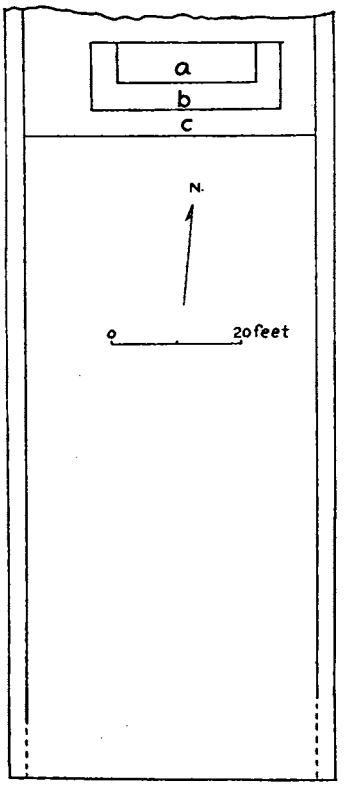
From its situation, I take this to be the marae seen by the Spaniards (14, vol. 1, p. 296). If so, it had a stepped *ahu*, the enclosure roughly 60 to 70 feet square, and the enclosing wall perhaps formed of slabs on edge—a most unusual feature.

Site 108. A large enclosure into the walls of which have gone the stones of the marae.

Site 109. Marae of the inland Tahitian type with the court studded with small uprights (figs. 5, 79). Giant *atae (Erythrina* species) trees grow about the marae.

The *ahu*, 14 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 2 feet high, is a rough platform faced with coral and basalt unwrought stones placed horizontally or on edge. Along the back and on the platform are three small dike uprights 8 inches high; in front of the *ahu* are three uprights 2 feet high, the central one of limestone and the others dike blocks. Out on the court covering an area 30 by 50 feet stand at least 50 uprights, 8 of them coral, the others dike blocks or prisms or beach stones averaging 8 inches to 1.5 feet in height.



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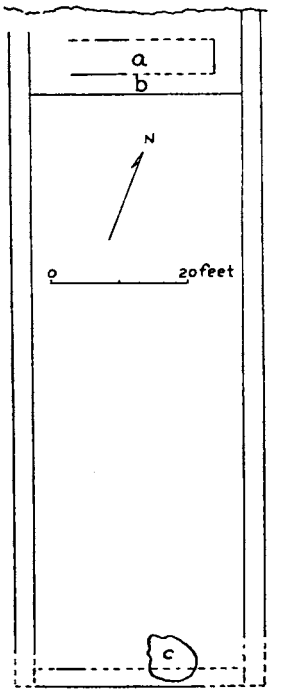

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FIGURE 77.—Marae at Tematomato, Meetia (Site 104), 117 feet long, 50 feet wide: *a, ahu* 2 feet high; *b*, terrace 4 feet high along the front, 29 feet long, 11 feet wide; *c*, terrace 2.5 feet high.

FIGURE 78.—Marae at Tematomato, Meetia (Site 105), 103 feet long, 39 feet wide: *a, ahu* 3 feet high, 5 feet wide, 22 feet long; *b*, terrace 2 feet high, 3 feet wide; *c*, ironwood tree. (See fig. 8, *a*.)

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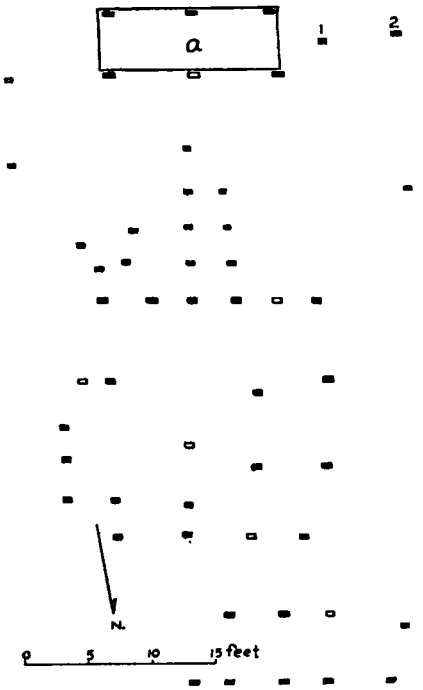
Our native guides regarded the uprights on the court as marking burials, though they had not been told anything about them. Post-European tombstones these may be, but because of the similar studding of prehistoric house sites on Nihoa Island in the leeward Hawaiian islands with dike stones which did not mark burials I have carefully recorded these on Meetia. When graves (post-European) are marked in the Society Islands, it is usual to make a rectangle of stones on edge. A small upright, however, may in addition be used for a headstone, and another as a footstone. Excavation at this site would settle the question as to whether or not the corner uprights are tombstones.



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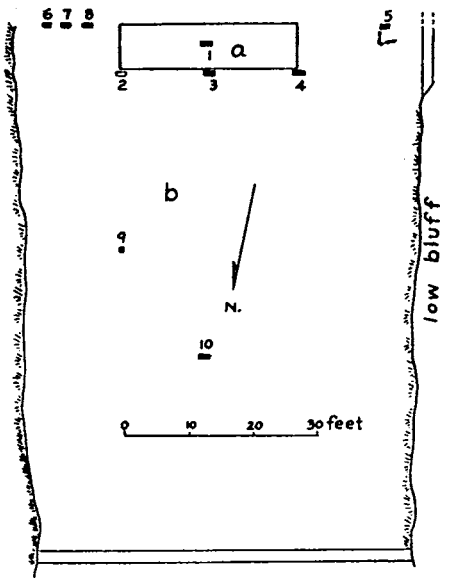

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FIGURE 79.—Marae on plateau above Teruahonu Bay (Site 109): *a, ahu* 14 feet long, 5 feet wide, 2 feet high; coral uprights indicated by rectangles in outline, loose prisms and limestone blocks, once uprights, lie on court; 1, 2, uprights 2.5 feet high, all others under 2 feet. (See fig. 5.)

FIGURE 80.—Marae at Tuuraapia, 400 yards west of marae Mahutoa (Site 110): *a, ahu* 27 feet long, 6.5 feet wide, 2 feet high; 1-10, basalt uprights except 2, 5, 6, which are of limestone; 1, broken by weathering, placed exactly in middle, 2 feet high, 15 inches wide, 8 inches thick; 4, 2 feet wide, 2 feet thick; 5, 1.5 feet high and wide, seems to be low platform before it; 6, 7, 8, 1 foot high and wide, 2 inches thick; 9, beach stone 2 feet high and wide, 4 inches thick; 10, beach stone 1 foot high and wide, 4 inches thick, leaning slightly away from *ahu*; enclosing walls of court range from 1.5 to 4 feet in height and average 2.5 feet wide; basalt and coral beach stones mixed with the lava rock of which the walls are almost entirely composed.

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Site 110. Marae at Tuuraapia, 400 yards west of marae Mahutoa (fig. 80). The *ahu* is faced with unworked coral and basalt stones set on edge or horizontally. Small pieces of coral are scattered over it.

Site 111. Marae Mahutoa (fig. 81).

There are two maraes. One (fig. 81, *b*) is said to have belonged to the chief Tuahu. The *ahu* is sprinkled with coral and paved with water-worn, flat-rounded stones averaging 1 to 2 feet in diameter. Only the inner facing of the *ahu* remains intact; of the outer facing there exist some foundation stones of squared tuff blocks. These had received a dressing of the outer face after they had been set in the ground, as proven by the roughness of the buried portion. The other marae (fig. 81, *d*) is said to have belonged to the chief Tevivi; the *ahu* is a platform of two steps, the first 2.5 feet high, and the second 2 feet high. The first course of these steps is of curbstones of tuff dressed in place, the

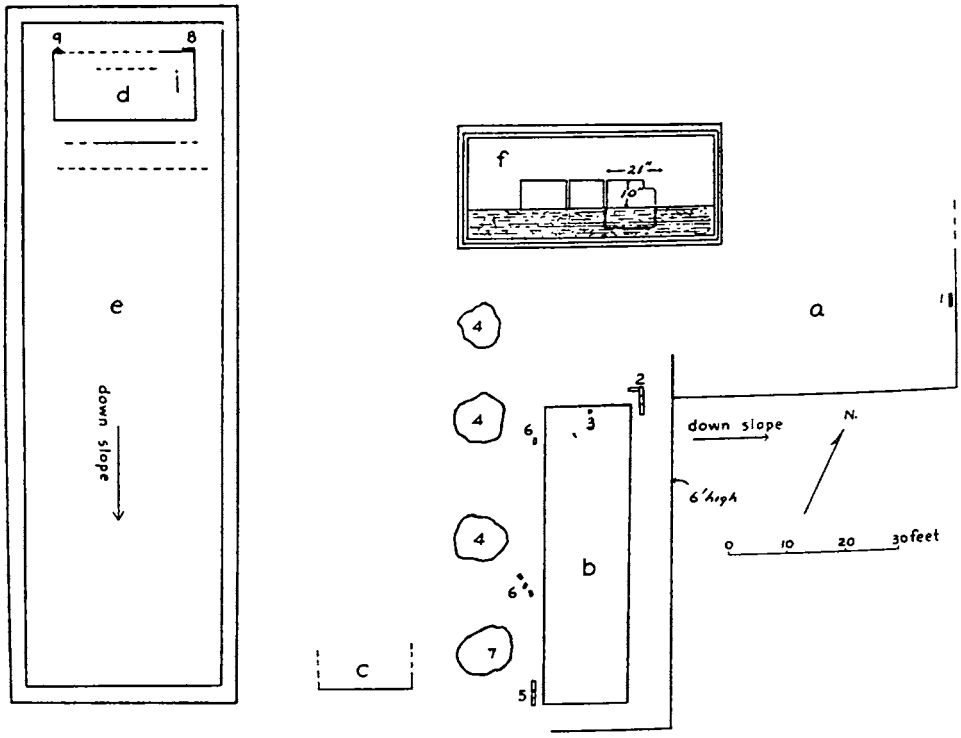

FIGURE 81.—Marae Mahutoa (Site 111): *a*, terrace on steep slope, roughly faced, unpaved; *b*, *ahu* 49 feet long, 14 feet wide, 4 feet high; *c*, indefinite platform paved with large beach stones; *d*, *ahu* 4.5 feet high; *e*, enclosure 37 feet wide, 115 feet long, with enclosing walls 3 feet high; *f*, front elevation of three curbs at 5; 1, slab 2 feet high, 3 feet wide, 10 inches thick; 2, small squared tuff blocks of first course; 3, dike prism 2 feet high leaning outward over end; 4, giant *'atae* (*Erythrina* species) trees; 5, red tuff curbs in place, front elevation (*f*) shows jog in end block, on court (*e*) two other blocks with same jog found; 6, red tuff blocks; 7, old ironwood tree; 8, upright basalt slab 3 feet high; 9, dike prism 2 feet high.

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upper courses of smaller square stones. Along the front of the *ahu* were scattered many small squared pieces of coral or black pumice, samples of which were collected. The enclosing wall of the court (fig. 81, *e*) has been built with squared *ahu* facing stones scattered haphazard through it, suggesting it was built or rebuilt after the *ahu* had been destroyed. About the marae two of the very hard, compact limestone slabs such as are found in the Tuamotus and there called *kara* were noticed.

Site 112. Many squared marae stones in this vicinity, where there are now three houses, indicate the former existence of a marae.

Site 113. The foundations of a Mormon church and the curbings of the graves of the cemetery next to it have in their construction a large number of squared marae stones, presumably from a marae which once occupied the site. Here also is a large, natural boulder called Manuteaa, after the mythical hero who is supposed to have speared and overturned Makatea in retaliation for Rahui's spearing and overturning of Meetia.

Site 114. On the least steep part of the slope to the northeast point are a number of terraces faced with lava stone and several irregular enclosures. One of the terraces has a maximum height along the front of 7 feet and is wide enough to have been a house terrace.

TETIAROA ATOLL

The atoll of Tetiaroa (Te-ti'a-roa), anciently called Te-tu-roa, or Te-tua-roa, lying 35 miles to the north of Tahiti, was formerly an attachment of Pare Distict, Tahiti (32, p. 76; 17, vol. 1, pp. 20-21). Captain Wilson of the *Duff* (58, p. 402) makes the following remarks about ths relation:

> To prevent the inhabitants from casting off his authority, Otoo [Pomare I] suffers no breadfruit or vegetable food of any kind to grow there, but coconuts and taro roots for the convenience of the chiefs who go there on a visit. These islands abound with fish which they bring to Otoo and load back with provisions. . . . About forty sail of canoes are thus employed.

Tradition places the subjugation of Tetiaroa to Pare in the time of Uru-marai-tapu and Uru-marai-hau, who came from the Leeward Islands 32 generations ago, evidently settled on Tetiaroa, and then gave it over to the chief of Pare-Arue, Teuvira-arii, whose mistresses they became (25, note 2, genealogy 5).

Through Dr. W. J. Williams, owner of the island, and his overseer, Mr. Edward Ahnne, I learned that the main marae on Rimatuu Islet has been converted into a graveyard. Its *ahu,* as those in the Leeward Islands, was faced with large limestone slabs. The maraes on the outlying islets had *ahu* faced with small limestone slabs. Although a few pieces of basalt stone have been observed at maraes, there is no worked basalt stone. Basalt pounders and adzes, from time to time dug up at Tetiaroa, are of typical Tahitian forms.

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To Dr. Williams I am indebted for a map (fig. 82) and the place names of the islands. These names and the location and configuration of the fish weir traps were given him by a native authority in 1914.

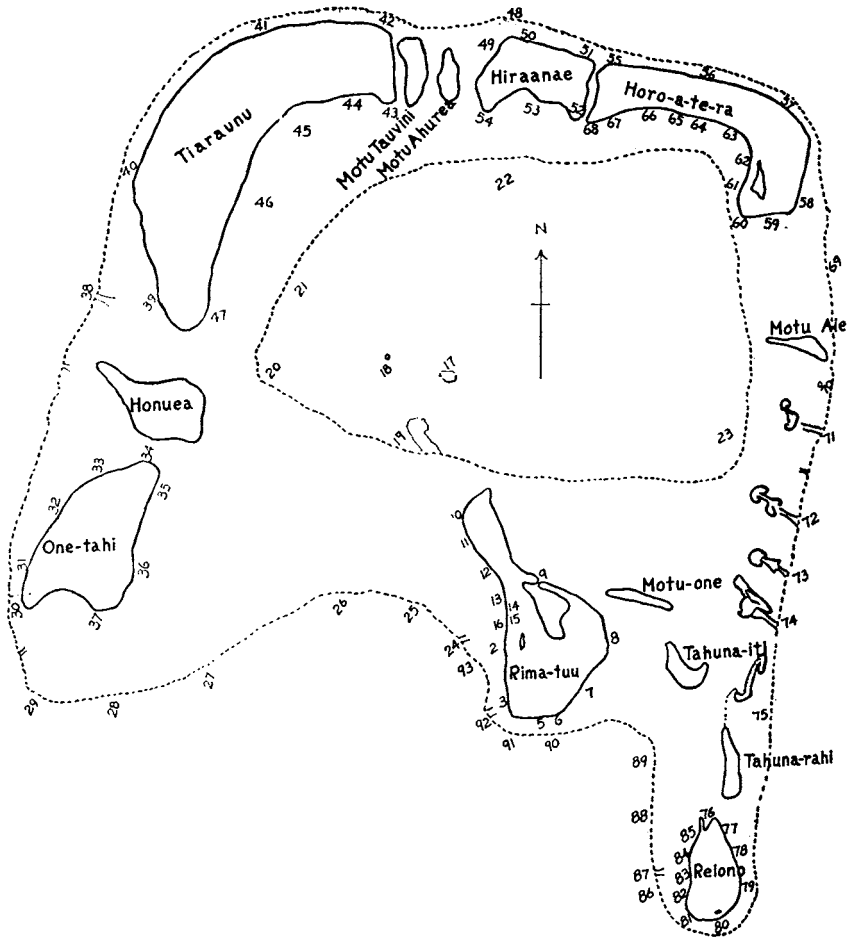

FIGURE 82.—Map of Teiaroa atoll, Society Islands, based on a survey by L. Gautin and Frankhauset. Atoll is about 6 miles from east to west. Numbers refer to place names (p. 121).

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1. The marae
2. Tapoi-ofaofa
3. Te-ara-i-ava
4. Te-muri-aito
5. Te-tiare
6. Te-tutaa-vaa
7. Pu-o-Oro
8. Te-mata-aie
9. Te-vaha-roto
10. Torea-oto
11. Te-turui
12. Tuitui-moa
13. Aha-rei
14. Te-papa faarii
15. Te-ana-o-Raiatea
16. Te-nuaue
17. To'a-tavei
18. Ti'a-ehu (Ofai faarue vahine)
19. Porea
20. Pape-hera
21. Pape-oiha
22. Ma'a-i-te-vaha
23. Earai
24. Apoo-maru
25. Tapuae-ute
26. Faaiere
27. Rau-tapa-hia
28. To'a-tatavere
29. Te-pipiha
30. Taua-pura
31. Pape-heru
32. Tapi-torea
33. Tutae-papaa
34. Apae
35. Te-maua-faniu
36. Vehi-tia-oru
37. Te-opaa
38. Te-ava-manini
39. Rai-riri
40. Tia-maue
41. Te-vari-o-Hiva
42. Te-ara-o-Amaru
43. Tauatini (boundary), "e taai Taamaraa"
44. Auvira
45. Piri-roa
46. Pape-oiha
47. Te-mata-o-Hiva
48. Taere-puta
49. Hiraanae
50. Rina-vera
51. Ruau
52. Mataiva
53. Aha-ura
54. Otuu-rere
55. Te-horoi
56. Hono-ava
57. Ana-nini
58. Te-maoae
59. Pofatu-vaovao
60. Aneu
61. Te-vaha-roto
62. Pape-hapono
63. Pae-raro
64. Poroi-tahinu
65. Faniu-popoo
66. Piao
67. Taere-puta
68. Motu-raa
69. Memerue
70. Ofai-o-Orofena (boundary), "e taai te Taaroa iraro"
71. Tava
72. Hiroa
73. Tarai
74. Mairi
75. Tua-manunu
76. Te-hurui
77. Te-hau-miti
78. Marara
79. Apara
80. Te-iriiri
81. Te-tiare
82. Hii-a-Tama
83. Tea-pua
84. Vaovaotira
85. Rau-varu
86. Ohue
87. Vaovaohi
88. Puhune-roa
89. Te-rua-mahu
90. Mapu-toetoe
91. Mataitere
92. Te-rua
93. Te-niho-o-Haumea

Fish weir traps 71, 74, and 75 (fig. 82) are to trap fish coming from the lagoon; traps 72 and 73, to trap fish coming from the sea.

The names of the islets are:

Rima-tuu
One-tahi
Honuea
Tiaraunu in district of Tiama-raa
Motu Tauvini
Motu-Ahuroa
Hiraanae
Horo-a-te-ra
Motu Aie
Reiono
Tahuna-rahi
Tahuna-iti
Motu-one or Te-one-tere

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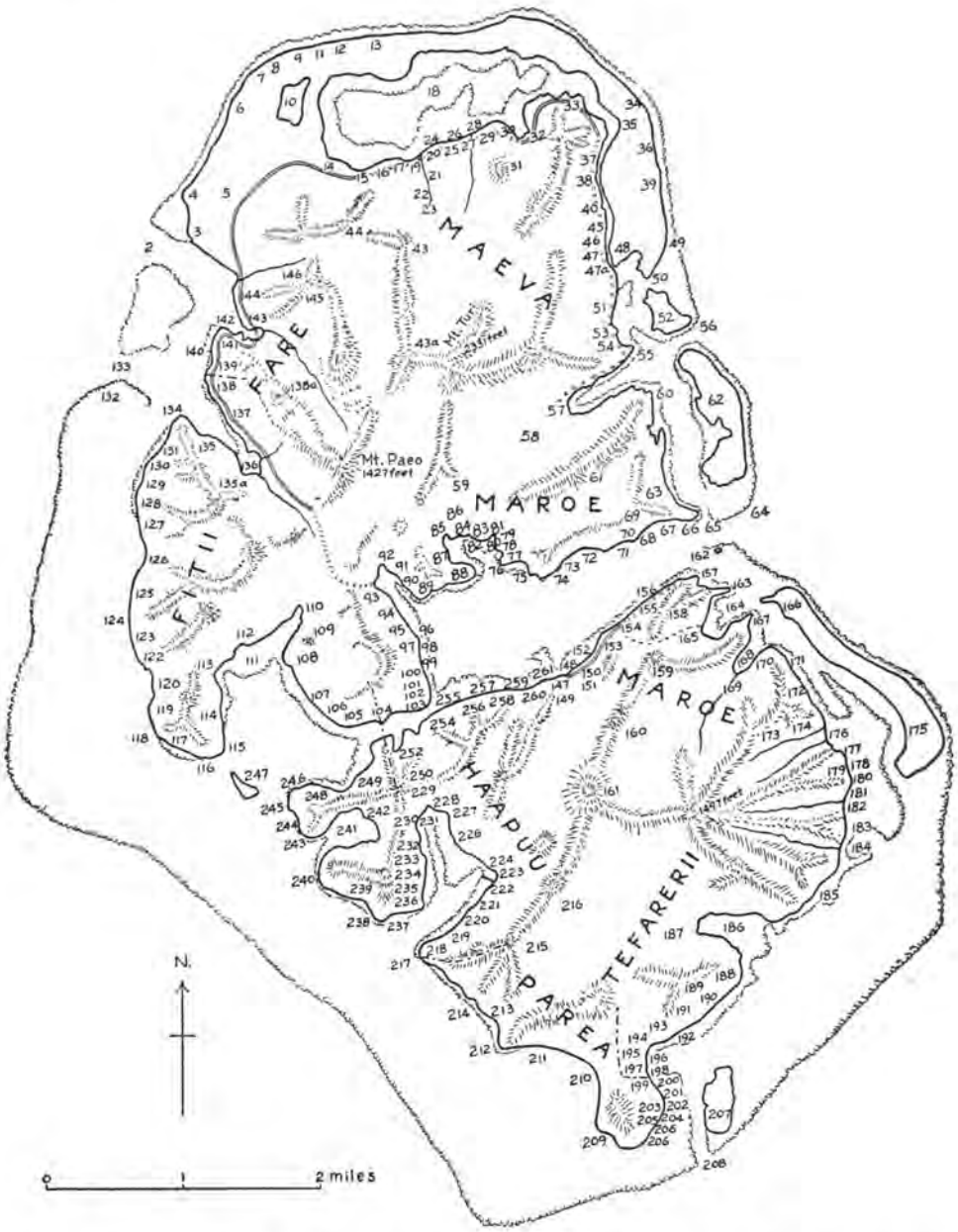

FIGURE 83.—Map of Huahine giving the present districts created since 1896; numbers refer to place names (pp. 123-125).

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HUAHINE

Place Names

The following names of the more important places on Huahine were learned from natives in 1925, with the exception of a few derived from old maps. The numbers in parentheses refer to locations on the map (fig. 83).

1. Fare, full name is Fare-nui-atea, present capital of Huahine
2. Ava Moa (Mo'a), sacred pass
3. Teopape
4. Tefaao (Te-faão)
5. Vaitutia (Vai-tu-ti'a)
6. Fareihi
7. Raupoto
8. Oe
9. Vaituu
10. Fauna Iti
11. Tarafarero
12. Aratupaupau (probably Ara-tupapau).
13. Farepoiri (Fare-poiri)
14. Puaoa, a large and important village in the early days
15. Teataiura (Te'a-taiura)
16. Amaama
17. Paoi
18. Fauna Nui, or Tahuna Nui
19. Arutoerau (Arutoerau)
20. Tepavivo (Te-pavivo, or Papa-vivo)
21. Mataroa, also called Mataroa Iti
22. Faretou
23. Faahiti, name applied to the whole valley
24. Faroa Iti
25. Opoa Iti
26. Paeoa
27. Vaipuhi
28. Tupapau
29. Vaitiairi (Vai-tia-iri)
30. Nini
31. Teava
32. Ana Hill
33. Maeva (See fig. 84)
34. Toerauroa, or Manunu Point
35. Teahutavaha
36. Taitivini
37. Tiipoto, name applied to the land for about a half-mile around
38. Matavai
39. Oavarei
40. Faretai
41. Tetarapiiura (Te-tarapi'i-ura) One of the three corners of Moua Tapu. Mentioned in ancient war song (31, p. 102)
42. Moua Tapu
43. Moua Rupehu (Rupehu)

43a. Matouereere

44. Moua Pahiarahia
45. Tenono
46. Vaitaraoa (Vai-taraoa)
47. Iiahara (I'i-a-hara)

47a. Taareu

48. Pauri (Pa-uri)
49. Papipi (Pa-pipi)
50. Uramoa (Ura-mo'a) Pass
51. Havii
52. Motu Mahare
53. Turi
54. Apoopae
55. Pati
56. Tiare Pass
57. Faie, name applied to valley and bay
58. Ture
59. Vaitehoa (Vai-te-hoa)
60. Pautu
61. Moua Roa
62. Motu Tavara (or Vavara?)
63. Fareerea (Fare-ere'a)
64. Farerea (Fare-re'a) Pass, probably an abbreviated form of Fareerea
65. Tetoaahurei (Te-to'a-ahurei)
66. Taiareare (Taiareare)
67. Vaihi (Vai-hi)
68. Anatatoro (Anatatoro)
69. Hoeahiro (Hoe-a-Hiro), Paddle-of-Hiro, clearly visible standing upright in configuration of cliff
70. Tehutuaroro
71. Haapuape (Haapuape)
72. Mapeputa (Mapeputa)
73. Farepatu (Fare-patu)
74. Torehe
75. Maueario (Maue-a-Rio)
76. Ninihora
77. Awai (A-wai)
78. Puatahi (Pu'a-tahi)
79. Matautara (Matautara)
80. Totoroiate
81. Oturoa
82. Marae Mape, site of the marae
83. Poureva
84. Poirea (Poi-re'a)
85. Purauavi (Purau-a-Vi)
86. Haputua (Hapu-tu'a)
87. Vainanui
88. Taharaa (Taha-raa)
89. Muturaa
90. Atai (A-tai)
91. Vaieri (Vai-eri)
92. Teavaava

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93. Tevahapiti (Teva-hapiti)
94. Vaihi (Vai-hi)
95. Marae Hiva, no trace of a marae
96. Haariute (Haari-ute)
97. Farehape
98. Matahira
99. Metau (Me-tau)
100. Faroto
101. Puratihoe (Puratihoe)
102. Tehututaue (Tehutu-taue)
103. Tapete
104. Mooreaho
105. Parurumatai
106. Vaihaapa (Vai-ha'apa)
107. Apoofainau. When a spring here rises the natives say the sea is rising on the other side of the island.
108. Nuupure (Nu'upure)
109. Varihoro Hill (Vari-horo)
110. Faatatoro
111. Faite Island
112. Honu. A rock here, entirely unworked and uncarved, is pointed out as a turtle
113. Tuira
114. Teraaroa (Te-raa-roa)
115. Mataua Point
116. Pofatureia (Pofatu-reia), name of a stone on the point
117. Fauuo (Fau-uo)
118. Tetaha
119. Papahaia (Papa-hai-a)
120. Faauoo (Faau-oo), Hiro jumped here
121. Paetaha (Pae-taha)
122. Aiai (Ai-ai)
123. Faana (Fa-ana)
124. Hamao (Ha-mao)
125. Faarao (Fa'a-ra'o)
126. Vaitou
127. Fitii
128. Pahara
129. Faaini
130. Vaipua (Wai-pu'a)
131. Muiaihe (Mui-aihe)
132. Peihi Islet (Pe-i-hi)
133. Ava Peihi
134. Hiumoo Islet (Hi'u-mo'o)
135. Hunatai
135a. Tavahi Mountain
136. Haavai, or Haapape, name applied to bay and valley
137. Punoni
138. Papatea (Papa-tea), boundary between Fitii and Fare districts
138a. Puuaretu (Puu-aretu)
139. Auraro
140. Teavaoae (Te-ava-oae), name of channel to the beach
141. Ofaiorio (Ofa'i-o-ri'o)
142. Tahateao
143. Teanopatio
144. Haapootava
145. Maua Pahua
146. Tiarere (Ti'a-rere)
147. Maroe Village (Maro-e)
148. Atitiao
149. Maruaito
150. Aturuanuu
151. Moetaha
152. Tenini
153. Farepatu (Fare-patu)
154. Vaiamara (Vai-a-mara)
155. Moeumara
156. Tehoro
157. Piriohama (Piri-o-hama), boundary between Maroe and Tefarerii
158. Reureutai, or Putaeo Peak
159. Maua Maa
160. Maua Toru, three peaks
161. Maua Roa
162. Motu Tapati (Ta-pa-ti)
163. Tehaumitiuratua (Te-hau-miti-ura-tua)
164. Rate Bay
165. Rate
166. Motu Murimahora (Muri-mahora)
167. Farehoa
168. Apoomatai Bay (Apo'o-mata'i)
169. Apoomatai Valley (Apo'o-mata'i)
170. Poroohiva (Poro-o-hiva)
171. Vairea
172. Haamiti
173. Maua Fene
174. Taiuu Peak (Ta'i-uu)
175. Motu Taiahu (Taia-hu)
176. Toutupuaa (To'u-tupuaa)
177. Vairiri
178. Taafara (Ta'afara)
179. Vaitaeo
180. Taarai (Ta'a-ra'i)
181. Putuiti
182. Tefareerii, usually contracted to Tefa-rerii
183. Paoi
184. Hoturaro
185. Paroa Point
186. Mahuti Bay
187. Mahuti
188. Mataoreva
189. Vaipao
190. Oarapiti
191. Vaihonu
192. Farehotu
193. Pohuerautea
194. Punamiti (Puna-miti)
194a. Parea, name generally applied to valley and bay
195. Paamoa (Pa'a-mo'a)
196. Teautea
197. Tataura
198. Aivi (A-ivi) Stream
199. Vaiamai (Vai'amai)
200. Taiharuru
201. Taianapa (Tai'a-napa)
202. Taiaruru (Tai'a-ruru)
203. Fareofe
204. Atupiifara
205. Anini
206. Poparoa
207. Motu Araara
208. Araara Pass
209. Tiaremaehaa
210. Awea
211. Iato, rocks represent two women and a dog

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212. Mutoooti (Moto-ooti)
213. Potuamaha
214. Faarimea
215. Parore (Pa-rore)
216. Fautumu Peak (Fau-tumu
217. Ripae (Ri-pa'e)
218. Raurii (Rau-rii)
219. Farereva (Fare-reva)
220. Aturuanuu
221. Atupii
222. Atitiao
223. Vaianahe (Vai-a-nahe)
224. Aumona
225. Haapuu Bay
226. Teatai (Te'a-tai)
227. Taripo (Tari-po)
228. Apoomaiore, bread-fruit pit
229. Pohoto
230. Maaitiafai (Maaitiafa'i)
231. Puarata
232. Farepatu
233. Vaipopaia (Vai-popa-i'a)
234. Vaitaitai (Vai-taitai)
235. Pofaturoa (Pofatu-roa)
236. Teoohu (Te-o-ohu)
237. Mootini (Mo'o-kini)
238. Teoferoa (Te-ofe-roa)
239. Vaihaura
240. Parauana (Pa-rau-ana)
241. Tiapaa
242. Tiapaa Village
243. Teumutaata (Te-umu-taata)
244. Haruru
245. Raro Matou
246. Tio
247. Vaiorea, also Papeorea
248. Terofa
249. Apootuna (Apo'o-tuna)
250. Haoroa Mountain, boundary between Haapu and Maroe
251. Mataiva (Mata-iva)
252. Vavi (Va-wi)
253. Teihi (Te-ihi)
254. Tatuavero (Tatu-a-vero)
255. Vaioa (Vai-o'a)
256. Teruamaro
257. Honoava (Hono-awa). Here a chief once ordered a hundred men to make ava; one of them was killed to eat at the feasting next day.
258. Mutuhionoa (Mutu-hi'o-noa)
259. Titiparure (Titi-parure)
260. Hawaii (Ha-wai'i). It is said today that some people from Hawaii lived here, hence the name; probably, therefore, not old.
261. Nuumau.

Huahine Nui

VILLAGE AND RUINS AT MAEVA

The *raatira* (gentry) of Maeva Village (fig. 84) opposed the acceptance of Christianity and the overthrow of worship at the maraes for some time after their chiefs had decided that the images should be destroyed and the belief in the efficacy of their gods should cease. The high priest of Huahine, Matapuupuu, and the king's son, Taaroarii, had gone in 1811 with many other Leeward Islands chiefs to help Pomare II reëstablish himself in his own domain. They came under the influence of the missionaries on Moorea and, prompted by the example of Pomare II, made a profession of Christianity in 1813 (17, vol. 2, pp. 107, 164). Mahine, the king of Huahine, convinced that the battle of Punaauia in 1815, in which he played a prominent part on the victorious side, proved the impotency of the ancient worship, in that year sent a special message to Huahine ordering the destruction of the idols (17, vol. 2, p. 169). In 1817 the Christian natives came to attack the idolaters at Maeva. Before the battle commenced, the leaders of the Christian party succeeded in persuading the opposing party to lay down their weapons and burn the image of Tane as well as to break the tapu forbidding women to eat with men. The following year a chapel was erected at Maeva Village

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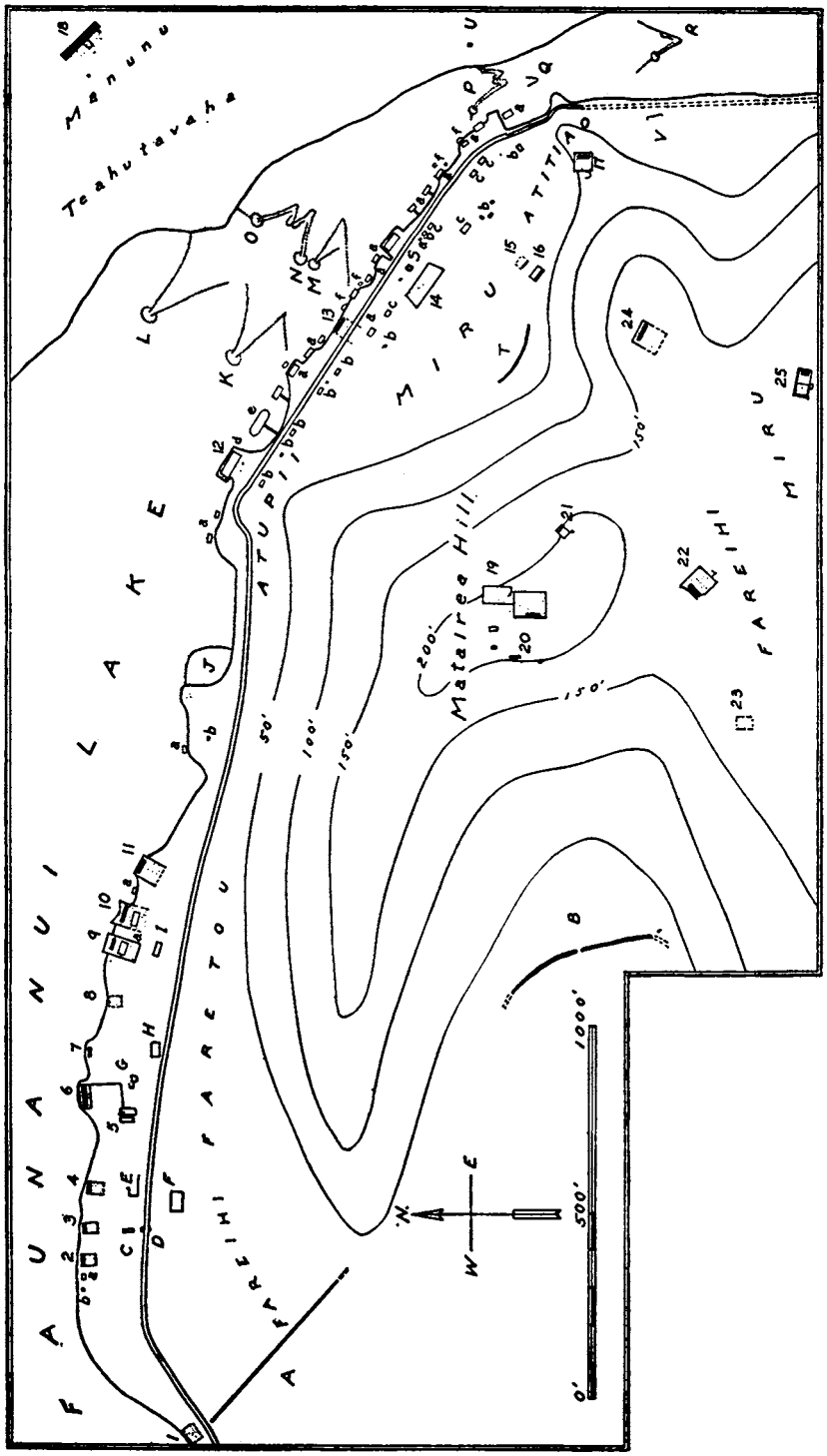

FIGURES 84.—Map of Maeva Village: 1-25, ruins of maraes; *A-V*, sites of ruins other than maraes; *a*, thatched houses; *b*, cookhouses; *c*, tin-roofed houses; *d*, church; *e*, native meetinghouse. Based on pace survey, 1925.

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(17, vol. 3, p. 2), which Ellis (17, vol. 3, p. 2) refers to as Tamapua, "a populous and central village in the district of Maeva." Tamapua was the name of the *tahua,* or assembly ground in Maeva Village (32, p. 102). Attending the native school at Maeva in 1818 were 380 children and adults.

It is obvious to anyone who reads the accounts of Ellis or Tyerman, and who has visited Maeva Village, that it has changed little since their time. The fish traps and ruins of maraes have remained practically unaltered, and about the same number of native houses lines the shore. It is worthy of note, however, that now many of the houses stand on piles over the waters of the lake, whereas none were so standing in 1818.

The land included within the fortified bounds of Maeva was parceled among the eight original branches of the royal family. These branches were, in order of seniority, Atupii (also sometimes called A-ti'a-pii), Atitiao (originally Ati-te-ao), Miru, Aturuanuu (originally Ati-Ruanuu), Fareihi, Faretou, Tauraimua, Tauraimuri. The two Huahine *mateinaa,* Atea and Ama, being of late origin (29, p. 96), are not represented in the village; a missionary report of Te Societi Huahine printed at Huahine in 1819, mentions these two districts and gives them first place in its list of the *mateinaa* of the island.

MARAES AT MAEVA VILLAGE

Site 115. Marae Horo, on land named Fariinoa, belonging to the Fareihi *mataeinaa,* or kindred (fig. 84, no. 1). Nothing remains except a few scattered stones, the rest having been taken for road construction. A marae *tupuna,* or family ancestral marae.

Site 116. Marae Fare Roi (Ro'i), Faretou *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 2).

A marae *tupuna.* The structure is a platform 40 by 84 feet, of large basalt stones one course high. On the north end stands the *ahu* of limestone slabs, most of which are still erect. The *ahu* is 32 feet long, 5.5 feet wide, and not more than 4 feet high. It lies 75 degrees east of north.

Site 117. Marae Fare Tai, on land Tupai, Faretou *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 3).

A pavement 30 feet wide and more than 55 feet long. A marae *tupuna.* On the north end stands the *ahu,* of limestone slabs, none of which are erect, but almost all of which are present. The *ahu* was not more than 4 feet high. Out on the middle of the pavement at the opposite end from the *ahu* is an upright basalt slab 2 feet high and 2 feet wide which tilts away from it.

Site 118. Marae Vaiotaha (Vai-o-Taha), on land Vaiotaha, Faretou *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 4).

Class not learned. The *ahu* stands on traces of a pavement. Not one of the limestone slabs of the *ahu* is standing. The slabs measure 5 to 7 feet long and average 4 feet in width. The *ahu* is between 36 and 42 feet long.

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Site 119. Marae Haumaru, on land Tamarutaua, Faretou *mataeinaa*. A marae *tupuna* (fig. 84, no. 5).

This marae consists of a platform 4 feet high, of basalt dike stones. The platform stands on perfectly level ground. It is faced with some very large stones set on edge or on end; the smaller stones are laid horizontally. The platform lies 22 degrees west of north. The east side is 41 feet long, the west side 46.5 feet; the width of the south end is 22 feet, of the north end 24.5 feet. On the north end, 5 feet from the edge, are apparently the remains of the *ahu*; three limestone slabs remain in a position to frame the western end. A *tamanu* tree is growing on the site of the *ahu*. On the west of the marae, and separated from it by 2 feet only, is a platform 21 by 40 feet, paved with basalt flagstones. To the west of this platform is the site of a round-ended house, and a few feet towards the road are several graves.

Site 120. Marae Rauhuru (fig. 84, no. 6).

A marae *tupuna*. The *ahu* stands on a platform built out into the lake. The facing of the platform is of limestone slabs set on edge, the pavement of basalt slabs. The *ahu* is 4 feet high, 5 feet wide, and 68 feet long; all the facing slabs, which are of limestone, are present, though a few are fallen. The fill of the *ahu* is mostly of basalt stones. The three slabs at the west end of the north face are inscribed with canoe petroglyphs (fig. 130, *a*). A middle slab of the south or court face has turtle petroglyphs (fig. 132, *i-k*). Lying on the center of the *ahu* we saw two human jawbones and other bone fragments. Against the court face of the *ahu* runs a step 1 foot high, 6 feet wide, paved with basalt flagstones and faced with limestone slabs. In the middle of this step, in front of the petroglyph slab, is a little platform which is the width of the step and almost 1 foot higher. This is probably the *avaa*. The court is unpaved but was formerly partly enclosed by a stone wall on the east and south. The foundations of this wall, showing it to have been 3 feet wide, alone remain. Directly in front of what appears to be the *avaa* is a basalt upright 2 feet high, 1.5 feet wide, 8 inches thick, tilted away from the *ahu;* 15 feet farther on is another basalt upright 2 feet high, 2 feet wide; and 4 feet to the east of it is a third basalt upright. No trees are growing on this marae. The present inhabitants were not aware of the canoe petroglyphs until we pointed them out; before this event we had been told that this marae was a "canoe" marae, but why it was so termed the natives could not tell.

Site 121. Marae Fare Ie, Faretou *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 7).

A marae *tupuna*. The *ahu*, 26 feet long, 4 feet wide, 4.5 feet high, stands on a pavement. It is faced on the inland side and at each end with limestone slabs; the lagoon facing is entirely missing. Six slabs form the inland face. The third slab from the west has two concentric circles carved in the middle (fig. 130, *d*, no. 2). The pavement of basalt slabs extends back 54 feet at least. Thirty feet out on the pavement from the right center of the *ahu* is an upright basalt slab 3 feet high, 1.5 feet wide, tilting away from the *ahu*. An old *toa* tree and two *miru* trees grow on the pavement.

Site 122. Marae Nuumau, Faretou *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 8). A marae *tupuna*. Nothing remains but a heaped-up pile of stones.

Site 123. Marae Oavaura (O-ava-ura), on land Tupopoua, Faretou *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 9).

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As an occupied dwelling house now stands on the pavement, uncertainty must exist as to how much it has been modified. The present pavement is 50 feet broad, 90 feet long. The *ahu,* 5.5 feet high, 4 feet wide, and at least 33 feet long, stands on the lagoon end 18 feet from the end of the pavement, which here rests on a platform built out into the water. About a fourth of the slabs of the *ahu* are missing, and among the remaining slabs all are standing except one. This fallen one is of basalt, all the others being of limestone. The house stands 16 feet from the inner face of the *ahu.* A little fish pond, 5 feet wide, 6 feet long, has been attached to the outer end of the marae.

Site 124. Marae Faretou, land Pohatuura, Faretou *mataeinaa* (figs. 84, no. 10; 85). A marae *tupuna.* The marae consists of a platform jutting out into the lagoon. It has the peculiarity of a convex front, like the front of an archery platform.

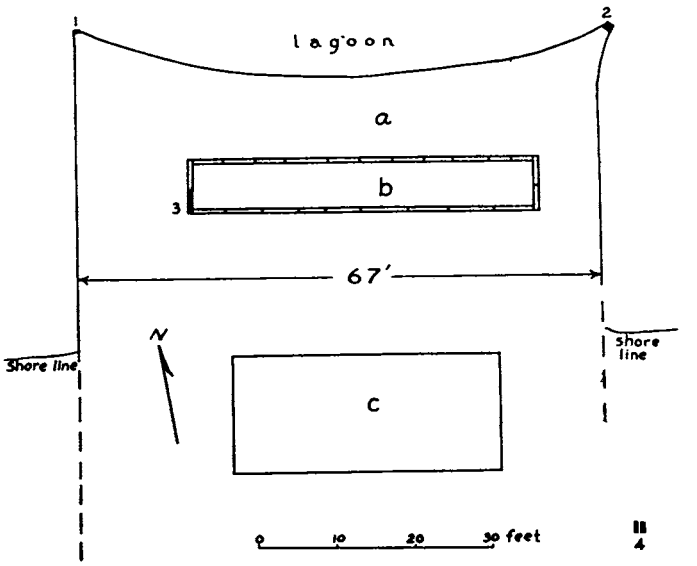

FIGURE 85.—Marae Faretou, Maeva (Site 124): *a,* platform standing 1 foot above lagoon waters, pavement of large basalt flags; *b, ahu* of limestone slabs except for basalt slab at 3, slabs uniformly 5.5 feet high, *ahu* filled within 2 feet of top and only with basalt stones; *c,* dwelling house occupied at time of our visit; 1-4, basalt slabs; 1, 2, basalt uprights; 2, slab 3 feet high projecting 2 feet above water; 4, two basalt slabs 1 foot high which indicate boundary line running between them to lagoon.

Site 125. Marae Avaroa, land Avaroa, Faretou *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 11).

A marae *tupuna.* The *ahu,* faced with limestone slabs, is 42 feet long, 6 feet wide, but only 3 to 4 feet high. Nearly all slabs are standing. The fill of basalt rocks is almost to the top. The *ahu* rests on a platform projecting slightly into the lagoon and standing 1 foot above the water. Only 1 foot has been left between the *ahu* and the lagoon end of the platform. A basalt upright, 2 feet high, 8 inches square, has been set exactly opposite the middle of the *ahu,* and only 1 foot from the inland face. The pavement is a little wider than the *ahu;* its length can be judged from the fact that the pavement stones are scattered for a distance of 78 feet from the lagoon end.

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Site 126. Marae Orohahaa, land Vaitipiu (Vai-tipi-u), Atupii *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 12).

A marae *tupuna* belonging to the family of the last high priest of Maeva, Tuaroanuiiaepau (32, p. 101). The *ahu* has been completely destroyed for the church which now occupies the marae platform. This may have been enlarged in consequence. Lying in front of the church is a great, smooth dike slab, 6.7 feet long, 30 inches wide, 8 inches thick. This is probably the stone described by Tyerman (56, p. 277):

"Near the chapel there is a stone on which the idol Tani was wont to be set down, that he might rest himself after the fatigue of being carried in a man's arms . . . down the steep hill adjacent, from his grand marae above, when, on certain extraordinary public occasions, it was necessary that he should be removed. The stone is a rough flag, as it was separated from the rock, four feet long, one and a half broad, and nine inches thick. It is placed horizontally on the edge of the lake, about half a mile from the sacred tree."

May this not be the stone called Tinomana (43, no. 26, p. 82), "to be still seen near the Protestant church at Maeva," which the ancestors of Hauti are supposed to have carried from Rarotonga?

Site 127. Marae Mataitaria (Mata'i-taria), on land Tereva (fig. 84, no. 13).

A marae *tupuna*, stated by Tyerman (56, p. 280) and by the present-day villagers to belong to a *raatira* (noble) family. It is said to have been founded from a stone taken from the marae Tamata Uporu (fig. 84, no. 25). The *ahu* is 4 feet wide, averages 5 feet high, and is at least 38 feet long. It stands on the outer end of a platform extending into the lagoon. A slab of the west end is standing, as also are five slabs of the north face and six of the south face; all other slabs are missing. The slabs present are of limestone except two central ones of the south face, 2 feet wide and 5 feet high, which are of basalt. The inland part of the platform and pavement has been destroyed for the road.

Site 128. Marae Fare Toa, or Tahua-umu-puaa, land Tereva (figs. 10, *b*; 84, no. 14; 86).

Marae Fare Toa is said today to be a marae *tupuna*. This marae is most unusual in consisting of a rather high platform without an *ahu*. It deserves careful attention in view of its having served, as Tyerman (56, p. 180) says, as a place where were held the "national councils, when the kings, priests, chiefs, and landowners assembled to determine questions respecting peace, war, or other great public concerns." Marcantoni (43, Bull. 25, p. 64) is evidently referring to this platform when he speaks of an elevated stone platform existing today near a great banyan tree, which platform served as a public court, place of election, general gathering and feasting place on great occasions, and was called *tahua umu puaa* (pig oven floor). The platform is built entirely of basalt stones and paved with flagstones. Great basalt uprights (fig. 10, *b*; pl. 18, *B*) are set along the two long sides 2 or 3 feet from the edge. The largest upright, now fallen, is 13 feet long. It bears the name Fatuteriitehavaravara (Fatu-te-rii-te-havaravara) in memory of a warrior who, as current tradition has it, was turned into this stone after his demise. It was probably the backrest of this warrior.

Site 129. Marae Tetianui (Te-tia-nui), Miru *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 15). A marae *tupuna*. Only traces of the marae exist.

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Site 130. Marae Toere (fig. 84, no. 16).

A marae *tupuna,* traces of which remain. A few yards to the south of these remains is a little dike prism upright 10 inches high called Teurutahiariimaeva (Te-uru-tahi-arii-maeva, The-single-breadfruit-of-the-chiefs—or -chiefess—Maeva). None of the natives of the village would venture to touch this stone, for fear of contracting *oovi* (leprosy).

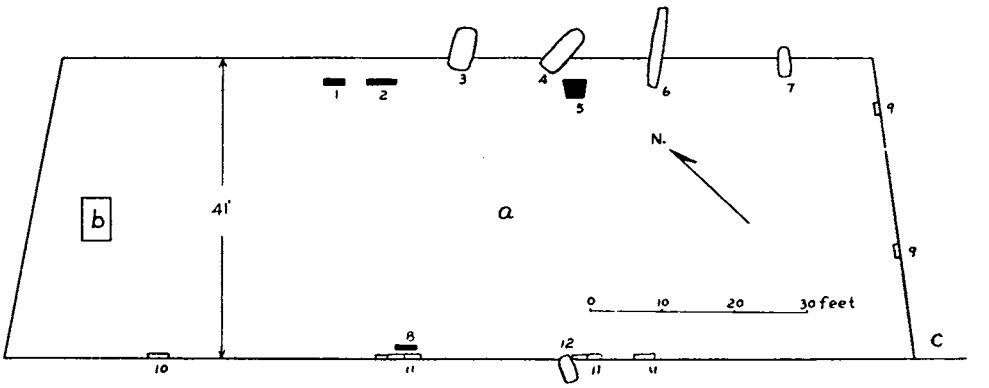

FIGURE 86.—Marae Fare Toa, Maeva (Site 128): *a,* platform 111 feet long on shorter side, 126 feet long on longer side, approximately 40 feet wide and 3 feet high, built on level ground, facing of basaltic slabs laid up horizontally with exception of some from first course which are set on edge or on end, pavement of large basalt flagstones; *b,* slab of limestone laid over vault of child buried about 1900; *c,* ruined wall 1 foot high; 1-8, basalt uprights; 1, 2, stand 5 feet high above pavement and tilted outward (pl. 18, *B*); 5, 6 feet high; 8, 5.5 feet high; 3, 4, 6, 7, fallen; 3, 4.5 feet long; 4, 5.5 feet long; 6, 11.5 feet long, 1.5 feet wide, 1 foot thick, called Fatuteriitehavaravara; 7, 4 feet long; 9-11, upright slabs in facing of wall, 9 projects a few inches to 1 foot above pavement; 12, fallen.

Site 131. Marae Maruaitu, Atitiao *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 17).

A marae *mataeinaa.* The *ahu* of this marae stands 3 feet from the north and outer end of a paved terrace 54 feet wide, 48 feet deep. At the back of the terrace rises another, 1 foot higher and 30 feet deep. On the very front of this last terrace is the outline, marked by rough, unworked curbstones set on edge, of a round-ended house 12 feet wide, 45 feet long, lying parallel to the *ahu.* The house floor is unpaved. The *ahu* is 42 feet long, 4 feet wide, 2 feet deep, and is faced entirely with limestone slabs. At the southeast corner is a slab-lined vault under the *ahu.* The chamber is 2 feet high, 3 feet square. It contained several skulls and other human bones. Two skulls lay on the pavement in front of the vault, and a leg bone and several additional skulls near the middle of the *ahu.*

Site 132. Marae Manunu, on the flat land of the peninsula called Manunuiterai, or Toèrauroa, which bounds the north side of Fauna Nui lagoon (figs. 10; 84, no. 18; 87; pl. 15, *A*).

The marae is directly opposite Maeva Village, but lost to sight in the dense screen of trees, and 100 yards from the seashore. No vertical slabs other than limestone occur anywhere in the *ahu* facing. The outer face of the *ahu* is similar to its inner face. The facing warps in and out in a very irregular manner not indicated by the plan. One

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of the largest slabs of the outer face had fallen forward and had been replaced by a smaller slab whose base rests on the back of the fallen one. One of the natives said that when Raiti, the last Maeva native of the old culture, died at the age of about 90, in 1915, a slab of marae Manunu fell. This old man had left a request that he be buried at the marae. His grave was pointed out in the *avaa*. The fill of the *ahu* is composed of basalt and coral rocks. The top of the *ahu* is paved with basalt flagstones. At both ends the limestone facing slabs rise above the average height of the top step. The court of the marae adjoins the southwest face of the *ahu;* no pavement or enclosing wall marks the extent. At 70 feet from the face of the *ahu* is a little structure consisting of two rows of coral slabs, 5 feet apart and 8 feet long, each row having two limestone slabs 1 foot high, which were set on end. A number of *toa* trees stand on the area before the inland face of the marae; none however grow on the seaward side. There is a complete absence of *tamanu* trees. The low stone platform (fig. 87, *c*) before the inner face of the *ahu* is the *avaa,* which Tyerman (56, pp. 266-268) describes as the ". . . bed of Tane, a stone-framed pile, 18 inches above ground, but 24 feet long by 13 wide."

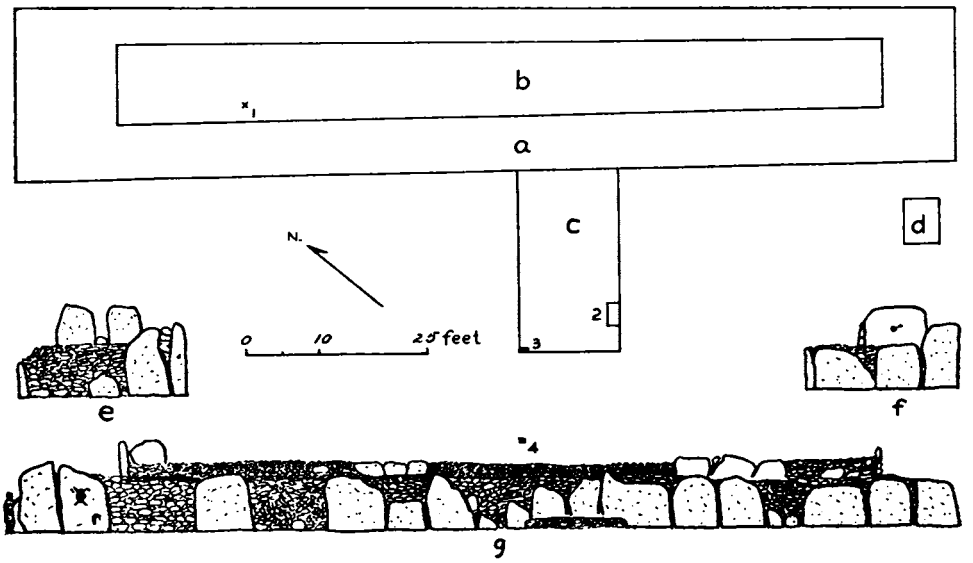

FIGURE 87.—Plan and elevations of marae Manunu, Maeva (Site 132): *a,* first story of *ahu,* 23 feet wide at one end, 21 feet wide at opposite end, and 129 feet long, 8 feet high; *b,* second story, 8.5 feet wide at one end, 11 feet wide at other, and 105 feet long, 3 feet high; *c, avaa,* a platform 14 feet wide, 25 feet long, not more than 2 feet high, built mostly of coral stones; *d,* unpaved platform 1 foot high framed by coral slabs on edge; *e,* northwest end; *f,* southeast end; *g,* southwest face, drawn to scale; 1, location of cist less than 2 feet square and 1 foot high, containing pieces of an adult male skull, the skull of a younger person, and some other bones, and covered with flagstone; 2, open pit, probably for the discarded coverings of tutelar god; 3, basalt slab on end and flush with top of platform; 4, basalt upright 1.5 feet high, 8 inches square.

The little detached platform (fig. 87, *d*) southeast of the *avaa* we mistook for a modern grave. However, Tyerman (56, p. 266) in 1822 seems to have noticed it: "Hard by [the bed of Tane] is another and lesser enclosure, not more than half the dimensions of Tane's bed." In front of the *avaa,* and 12 feet from it, is a basalt upright (fig.

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87, no. 4). Petroglyphs could be discovered on only two of the slabs of the *ahu*; the second slab from the left end of the southwest face, and the single slab closing in the southeast end of the upper story. The carvings are shown in figures 132, *d*, and 130, *d*, no. 1.

Site 133. Marae Matairea-rahi, located on a hill overlooking the central part of Maeva Village (figs. 84, no. 19; 88).

The common name is Matairea, derived from the name of the hill on which it stands, but according to Henry (32, p. 101), its own name is Faaoaitu (Faao-aitu). The plan of the marae (fig. 88) shows that it consists of two separate parts. Ellis and Tyerman (56, pp. 278-284) visited the marae in 1822, accompanied by the native who had been the official bearer of Tane's image. Through their account and description of the marae the function of the main divisions and features is learned. Tyerman (56, vol. 1, p. 282) clearly designates the southern part as the marae proper, and reveals the *avaa*, the position of the *turui* of the officiating priest, the position of the *fatarau*, and the *turui* of the representatives of the eight *mataeinaa* of Huahine:

"The great marae . . . [is] nearly 100 feet by 80 feet in length and breadth with walls in some parts 9 feet thick. In the center of this rude edifice, Tani's bed [the detached low platform before upright 8, fig. 88] is to be seen, on which his idol was laid when prayers were offered to it, and near that another platform which the dumb stock occupied on special occasions.

"At the distance of 30 feet in front of the marae [Tyerman must be referring here to the most conspicuous part of the marae, platform *C*, fig. 88, as the marae, whereas he had just spoken of the entire southern part as the marae], is the usual raised seat [probably upright 6, fig. 88] for the priest when he performed his devotions; and, near the same, what may be called the altar, consisting of a flagstone and an upright one, on which animals offered in sacrifice were formerly slaughtered; there were swine and fowls, but the altar on which the bodies of the victims, when slain, were presented, was a frame of wooden piles and planks, 16 feet long, 6 wide, and 10 high. On these occasions the fowls of the air had plenteous feasting. Near the spot were two large heaps of bones, principally the skulls of hogs. On the declivity immediately below the marae are two small terraces, raised to the height of 12 inches each from the ground, and on the lower side of these are stationed eight insulated stones, set up at some distance from one another, designating, by their position in reference to the temple, that part of it which particularly belonged to each of the eight districts of the island; and around which the inhabitants of the same, on public solemnities, congregated in tribes, as we were given to understand [here again platform *C*, fig. 88, is referred to as the marae]."

Faatau, the only man at Maeva now living who is versed in native traditions, says that the southern half of marae Matairea was occupied by the eight *mataeinaa* or their representatives who assembled each month for rites, and that each *mataeinaa* had a stone denoting its place in the space marked *a* and *b* on the plan (fig. 88). Faatau pointed out the northern half of the marae as the abode of Tane. Tane-te-tumu-o-te-fenua, he said, was god of the marae, and Tane-tihi-hiohio the *arii varua ino* (chief of the evil spirits).

Concerning the northern part of the marae, Tyerman (56, pp. 282-283) says:

"[On it] Tani's house [now destroyed] was a little wooden chamber, built on posts, 25 feet high, and to which there was no access except by climbing one of them. This was the sanctuary where the image was kept . . . On one side of Tani's house there is a remarkable stone, set on end, which . . . is said to have caught his long tail [like the tail of a comet or meteor] when from the top of it he attempted to mount in the air on a journey of mischief."

Tyerman (56, vol. 1, pp. 266-267) notes that the image of Tane had been burned in his own house, Taumatai, in the year 1817, and that the image, a block of wood about the height and bulk of a very tall and stout man, had no separation of the part above,

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" . . . whilst below, the uncouth body terminated in a point (without legs) like a cone inverted. It had likewise the usual mockeries to represent eyes, ears, nose, and mouth, and arms . . . The whole was covered with sennit, or platted twine, made from the fibres of the coconut."

The upright stone referred to by Tyerman, by the side of Tane's house may be one of the uprights 11 to 13, figure 88. These, however, are all probably sacred backrests. Upright 13 (pl. 7, *A*) was pointed out by my young guide as the *ofai turuiraa a Paheroo* (the backrest of Paheroo). The tradition in connection with this marae is given by Henry (32, p. 101). Some of the natives in the village claimed Paheroo's stone was on the southern division.

Ellis (17, p. 335) tells of seeing the ruins of the abode of the *tii* (images) of *oromatua* (disembodied spirits) at Matairea marae, still standing when last he visited it:

"It was a house built upon a number of large, strong poles, which raised the floor 10 to 12 feet from the ground. They were thus elevated to keep them [the oromatua]

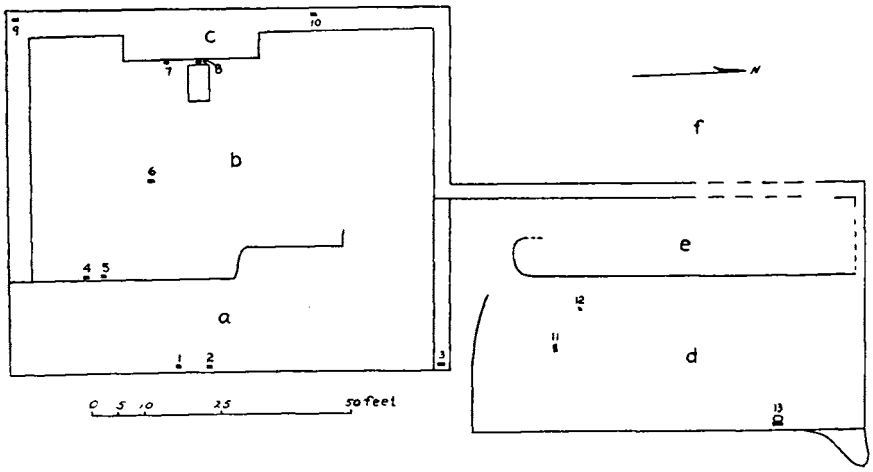

FIGURE 88.—Marae Matairea-rahi, Maeva (Site 133): *a*, front of southern half, roughly paved terrace reaching height of 5.5 feet along front, facing of irregular dike slabs laid up horizontally with either the side or end exposed, northern end of terrace bounded by wall 1 to 2 feet high; *b*, sloping surface of hillside, slightly terraced on lower (east) side, terrace facing not more than 1 foot high, along back and sides runs wall 1 to 4 feet high, 3 to 5 feet wide; *c*, stone platform 3 to 4 feet high built up of horizontal dike slabs and paved with flat stones, top flush with top of rear enclosing wall, lower part of court facing concealed by line of coral slabs 3 inches thick set on end or on edge; *d*, front of northern division of marae, 15 feet high along front, faced in same way as *a* and paved with heavy, flat stones, northeast corner buttressed by sloping face; *e*, earth-filled terrace 2 feet above *d*, faced with single course of boulders, south end clearly rounded; back of *e*, wall 4 feet high on inside, 1 foot high on upper side, starts from southern division of marae and runs north, disappearing almost completely at north end; *f*, sloping ground partly paved; 1-3, basalt uprights; 1, 1 foot high, 1 foot wide, 4 inches thick; 2, 2 feet high, 1.5 feet wide, 5 inches thick; 3, 2 feet high, 1.5 feet wide, 4 inches thick; 4-8, basalt uprights; 6, 2 feet high, 2 feet wide, 6 inches thick; 7, 1 foot high; 8, 14 inches high, 10 inches wide, 2 inches thick, before upright is small platform 1 foot high; 9, 10, basalt slab uprights 1 foot high, 1 foot wide, 3 inches thick; 11-13, uprights; 11, basalt, 20 inches high, 12 inches wide, and 3 inches thick; 12, basalt, 12 inches square; 13, limestone, 27 inches high, 33 inches wide, 4 inches thick.

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out of the way of men. . . Men were appointed constantly to attend them . . . and to sleep in the house at night."

Henry (32, p. 206) gives as the chief evil genii at this image house, Mauri, Puarai, and Teafao, names of famous warrior chiefs of olden times.

If the house of Tane was not on the southern part of the marae, surely this house of the *tii* was not there. It may have stood on this northern part (fig. 88, *e*) or on the partly paved ground back of it. A careful search for post holes might reveal the exact position and extent of these houses.

On the very summit of Moua Tapu, a lofty volcanic cone rising back of Maeva Village, is a miniature marae called Matairea Iti, said by the present natives to have been built as an ancestral marae for the queen of Huahine. Tane was supposed to have dwelt here when he was not at Matairea Rahi. As described by natives who had climbed to the summit of Moua Tapu, this little marae consists of three basalt slabs, each about 2 feet long and 2.5 feet high, placed on end to form 3 sides of a 3-foot square. The marae was without platform or terrace. Tyerman (56, pp. 252, 265) was told that this marae was held in profound veneration and was dedicated to the worship of the dog. Numerous *tamanu* trees grow on and about the marae.

Site 134. Platform 60 feet west of the marae Matairea (fig. 84, no. 20).

The platform is 12 by 20 feet, of large boulders. In the vicinity are several boulders of curious shape, one of which was called, from its resemblance, a *penu* (pounder), and has a tradition attached to it.

Still farther west is a small, high platform out of one corner of which is growing a *tamanu* tree. One hundred feet west of the marae is the *ahu* of a small marae, the *ahu* being 30 feet long. South of the small marae at a distance of a few yards is a platform 12 by 15 feet and 4 to 5 feet high. Farther away are various remains of house sites. These ruins include all in the immediate vicinity of marae Matairea.

Site 135. Marae Tetoa, land Tuarai, Fareihi *mataeinaa* (fig. 54, no. 21).

A marae *tupuna*. This is a large marae which was not measured. The *ahu* is faced with both basalt and limestone slabs averaging 4 feet high. It is located on the north end of a low paved terrace and several feet from the end. At the southwest corner of the terrace, removed by about 10 feet, is a platform 15 feet square, 4 feet high, depressed several feet in the center. Perhaps this was the refuse pit of the marae.

Marae 136. Marae Tefano, on land Ahorei, Fareihi *mataeinaa* (figs. 84, no. 22; 89).

A marae *mataeinaa* (?). A native told me Tumaroura was the chief, and that it was he who married Hutuhiva. The terrace of this marae extends over the side of the hill on the northwest. The top of the terrace is paved with flagstones. The *ahu* is faced with both basalt and limestone slabs. Seven stone backrests stand on the pavement in a row parallel to the *ahu* and 31 feet from it. Behind this row of uprights, at a distance of 30 feet, is a line of stones embedded in the ground, marking the rear limit of the court. Adjoining this boundary is a low, unpaved, rectangular house terrace, marked out by a line of stones embedded in the ground.

Site 137. Marae Tafaataea (?) (fig. 84, no. 23). A marae destroyed to make way for a plantation. In order to ward off any evil effects from this desecration, brush was piled over the marae and burned, thus destroying it.

Site 138. Marae Atitiao, Atitiao *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 24).

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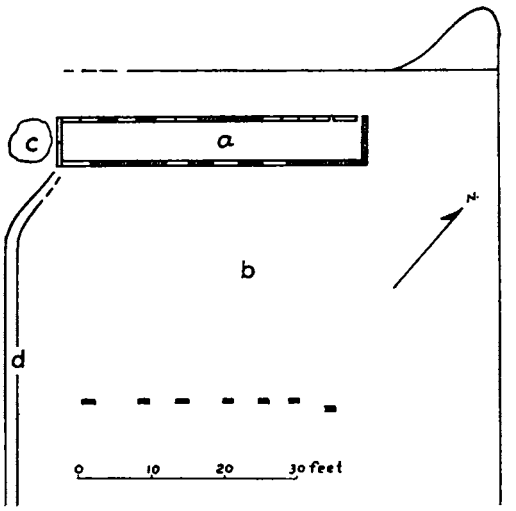
A marae *mataeinaa*. The marae consists of a terrace 66 feet wide and about 75 feet deep, having an *ahu* 4 feet wide and 3 feet high, 3 feet from the front margin. The *ahu* is faced with thin limestone slabs, except for one basalt slab on the north face. In front of the center of the *ahu*, 27 feet out on the court, is a basalt upright 2.5 feet high, and 27 feet beyond, another, 2 feet high. Five feet beyond the last is the front border of a house site.

Site 139. Marae Tamata Uporu, land Vaniau, Miru *mataeinaa* (figs. 84, no. 25; 90). A marae *tupuna*.

Site 140. Marae Te Pou-o-Nuuhiva, land Vaniau, Miru *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 26).

A marae *tupuna*. This marae is southeast several hundred yards from the marae Tamata Uporu. It is unusual in being simply a platform roughly paved, 21 feet square, and, on the downhill side, 6 feet high. Adjoining the east side is a large unpaved stone wall enclosure having no *ahu* or uprights.



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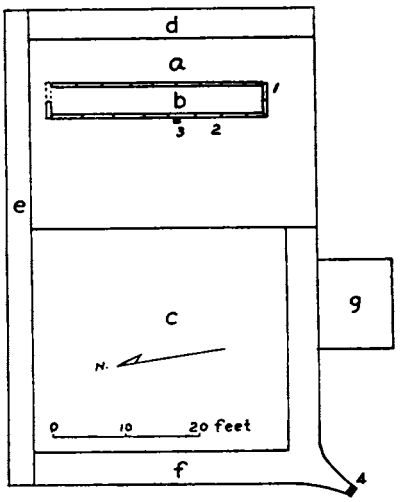

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FIGURE 89.—Marae Tefano, Maeva (Site 136; fig. 84, no. 22): *a*, *ahu* 4 feet high, filled to top with basalt rocks, faced with basalt (shaded) and limestone slabs; *b*, stone terrace paved with basalt flags, front of terrace 4 feet high, north corner buttressed by sloping wall, on rear stands row of basalt uprights averaging 2 feet in height; *c*, banyan tree; *d*, wall 1.5 to 2 feet wide, 1.5 feet high.

FIGURE 90.—Marae Tamata Uporu, Maeva (Site 139; fig. 84, no. 25), width 42 feet, length 74 feet: *a*, pavement 1 foot above *c*; *b*, *ahu* 3 feet high, filled to top with basalt stones, faced with limestone slabs except for slab 1; *c*, rough pavement strewn with boulders; *d*, wall 4 feet high; *e*, wall 2 feet high on inside, acts as retaining wall for bank on north, on bank grows a banyan tree; *f*, wall 4.5 feet high; *g*, house platform 1 foot high; 1, basalt slab; 2, slab with circle carved on it, grooves 0.25 inch wide, 0.1 inch deep; 3, dike prism upright 7.5 inches in diameter; 4, upright 3.5 feet high set against end of sloping wall, which acts as buttress to this corner of marae.

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Site 141. Marae Faretai, on land Faretai, Miru *mataeinaa* (fig. 84, no. 27).

A marae *tupuna*. This is a large marae several hundred yards east of Site 140. Its *ahu* stands on the inland end of a terrace of two steps and is faced with limestone slabs. On the front step of the terrace, upon the front right corner, stand two basalt uprights; against the face of the upper terrace stand two basalt uprights.

Site 142. Fortification wall (fig. 84, *A*).

Built of large flat dike stones laid horizontally and lengthwise in the wall and forming a smooth, vertical face. The top of the wall is 6 to 8 feet wide and is level and smooth. I was informed that the present height of 5 feet was not the original height, as the top stones had been removed for road material. Ellis (17, p. 314) gives the height in his time as 12 feet, and says the wall extended to the shore except for a pass called King's Road which was blocked with loose stones during hostilities.

Site 143. Fortification wall (fig. 84, *B*). The location given is only approximate. I simply noted a wall similar to that at Site 142 crossing the swale which opens to the west. The trail up the ravine passes through a neat gap in the wall.

Site 144. Pavement (fig. 84, *C*). It measures 16 by 45 feet and is enclosed by stones set on end or on edge and projecting 0.5 to 1 foot above the pavement except at the south end, which is bounded by a row of limestone and basalt slabs 2 feet high. This last row may be the remains of the *ahu*.

Site 145. House site outlined by stones embedded on edge and projecting 6 inches above the ground (fig. 84, *D*).

Site 146. Enclosure (fig. 84, *E*).

Rectangular area partly paved and partly enclosed by stones set on edge or on end. The northwest corner is indicated by two upright slabs, 2 feet high, meeting at right angles. The east end of the south wall terminates in a basalt upright, 2 feet high. An isolated upright, 2.5 feet high, stands 15 feet from the southwest corner and 1 foot from the south wall.

Site 147. House site marked out by a line of stones forming a rectangle 30 by 48 feet (fig. 84, *F*). Between Sites 145 and 146 is a basalt upright 1.5 feet high, said to be a boundary stone.

Site 148. Two enclosures outlined by stones set on edge and joining each other at right angles (fig. 84, *G*). The stones are not more than 1 foot high, except in the west wall of the east enclosure where a line of limestone slabs averages 2 feet high.

Site 149. House site (fig. 84, *H*).

A rectangle of embedded stones on edge, projecting 4 to 8 inches above ground. The enlosed area, 20 by 42 feet, is slightly filled with earth. A flagstone pavement 10 feet wide runs along the side towards the road and in front of this pavement lies a flat basalt slab 6 feet long, of irregular outline.

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Site 150. House site consisting of a line of stones on edge, projecting 3 to 6 inches, and forming an unpaved rectangle, 18 by 31 feet.

Site 151. Neglected fish pond in shallow water. The wall is a rough line of basalt stones reaching water level.

Site 152. Fish weir traps (fig. 84, *K-R*): *K,* Wahamoa; *L,* Tahiverevere; *M,* Puaa Oviri; *N,* Te Pua (Pu'a); *O,* Momona; *P,* Tuai (Tua'i), the name applied to two traps; *Q, R,* names not learned. These traps are described in detail by Handy (30, pp. 93-97).

Site 153. Sacred enclosure (fig. 84, *S*).

Until a few years ago, the cast-off effects of the royal family were carefully burned or buried in this enclosure. For a commoner to trespass upon it is to expose himself to leprosy. The walls, loosely built, are 2 feet wide, 3 feet high. The enclosure measures 15 by 18 feet, but if I remember rightly I was told it had been reduced in size. Probably, then, it is the remains of the oblong enclosure, 20 by 45 feet, "fenced with a strong stone wall" which Tyerman (56, p. 280) saw in this immediate neighborhood and which he reports was the sepulchral marae of the kings of Huahine:

"Here the bodies of the deceased, according to the manner of the country, being bound up with the arms doubled to their shoulders, the legs bent down under their thighs, and both forced upward against the abdomen, were let down, without coffins, into a hole prepared for their reception, and just deep enough to allow the earth to cover their heads."

Site 154. A massive, loosely built fortification wall, in places 10 feet high and 10 feet wide (fig. 84, *T*). Ellis (17, p. 314) says that on top of this wall warriors kept watch and slept.

Site 155. Monument and 6 of the 18 graves of French soldiers killed in French attack upon Maeva, January 18, 1846 (fig. 84, *U*). The monument was erected in 1887 (10, p. 254).

Site 156. Earth terrace faced with rough basalt retaining wall 3 feet high (fig. 84, *V*). Presumably a house terrace.

Site 157. Ruins immediately south of Maeva Village. (See fig. 91.)

Marae Te Ava (figs. 91, *e;* 92). A marae *tupuna,* built across the end of a rocky spur so that in consequence considerable filling has been necessary for the attainment of the requisite level area.

Marae Fare Miro (figs. 91, *g;* 93). A marae *tupuna* belonging to the family of Terii Piha of Maeva Village. His name (*io'a tumu*), which would have entitled him in ancient days to a seat in this marae, is Temahiapa-a-Tiihiva. The fifth facing stone from the left, on the court face of the *ahu,* the only basalt facing stone, is said to represent an *atua,* guarding the marae against such meddlers as persons outside of the family who might take stones from it. (See pl. 13, *A*). Inland from the *tamanu* tree growing at this marae is an enclosure 14 by 17 feet, possibly the refuse pit. The walls are 2.5 feet wide and 1 foot high.

Marae Tahaa (figs. 91, *i*; 94). A marae *tupuna* said to be particularly malignant to trespassers.

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Site 158. Marae Toro, on land Tiipoto, south of Maeva Village. A small marae, the *ahu* 2 feet high of limestone slabs and standing parallel to the shore.

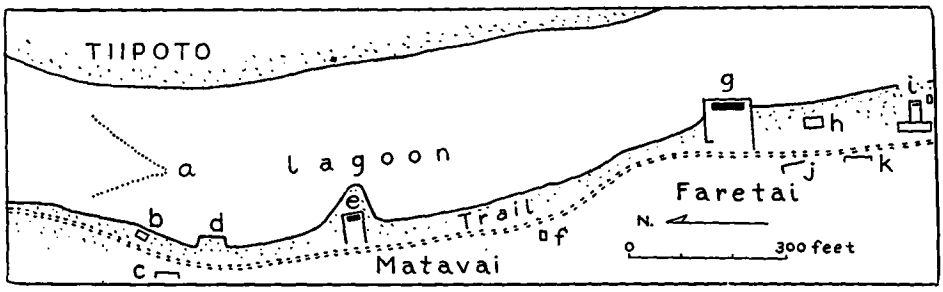
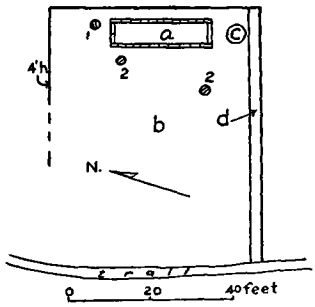


FIGURE 91.—Southern continuation of map of Maeva Village (fig. 84) showing ruins of Tiipoto, Tauraimuri District (Site 157), bordering lagoon just south of Maeva Village: *a*, fish weir trap in ruins; *b*, house site, 25 by approximately 12 feet, outlined by embedded stones projecting 1 foot above ground; *c*, earth-filled house terrace faced with single course of large stones averaging 2 feet long and 1 foot high; *d*, house platform built out into lagoon; *e*, marae Teava; *f*, house site, 12 by 18 feet, outlined by embedded stones on edge; *g*, marae Fare Miro; *h*, house site, 15 by 30 feet, outlined by basalt stones on edge; *i*, marae Tahaa; *j*, *k*, house terraces.



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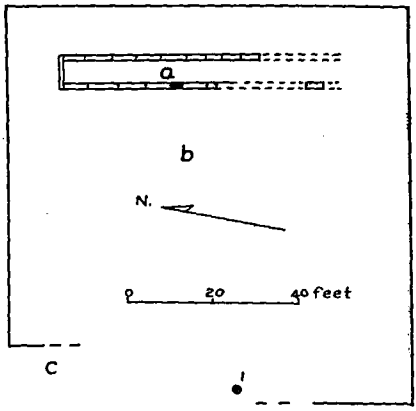

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FIGURE 92.—Marae Teava, Tiipoto (fig. 91, *e*): *a*, *ahu* faced entirely with small limestone slabs not more than 1.5 feet high; *b*, platform 51 feet wide, of basalt stones paved entirely with flagstones; *c*, rough pit 5 feet in diameter, 4 feet deep, probably refuse pit; *d*, wall 60 feet long, 2 feet high on court side, 5 to 8 feet high on outside; 1, banyan tree; 2, *tamanu* tree.

FIGURE 93.—Marae Fare Miro, Tiipoto (fig. 91, *g*), Site 157: *a*, *ahu* faced with slabs averaging 7.5 feet high, all slabs limestone except fifth from left on inner face, a basalt column 6.5 feet high; *b*, platform 94 feet square, of coral stones, entirely and carefully paved with basalt flagstones; *c*, site of native house which stood here a few years ago; 1, *tamanu* tree.

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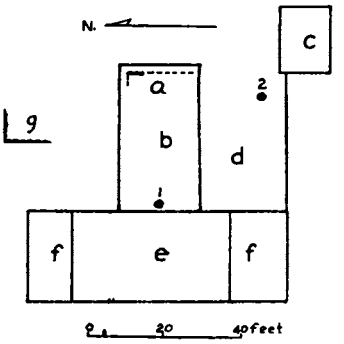
Site 159. Marae on land Tenono, about 1 mile south of Maeva Village, on level land and 100 yards from the lagoon (fig. 95).

Site 160. Marae Tepepe, east of land Tenono, Tiipoto. A small marae of the common type, but much in ruins. Just shoreward of the Chinese store.

Site 161. Marae Manuea, on land Iiahara. A marae with a low *ahu*.

Site 162. Marae at Maueorio Point, Maroe District. A few pieces of coral remain to mark the site of a small marae crowning the high knoll on the point.



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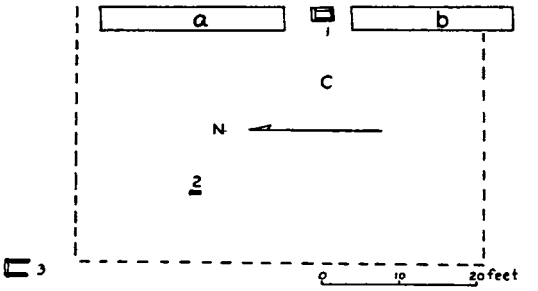

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FIGURE 94.—Marae Tahaa, Tiipoto (fig. 91, *i*): *a*, probable remains of *ahu* 2 feet high, two slabs only are standing, cornerstone of limestone and basalt slab next to it; *b*, 21 feet wide, 39 feet long; *c*, platform which may be a tomb or a sacred refuse pit, 15 feet wide, 18 feet long, 2.5 feet high, depressed in center, in depression lay a human leg bone; *d*, partly paved division faced with first course of flattish basalt slabs set on edge or on end, upper courses laid horizontally; *e*, *f*, platform 23 feet by 67 feet, 1.5 feet high; *e*, middle of division, earth-filled; *f*, ends neatly paved with flagstones; *g*, house platform; 1, banyan tree; 2, *tamanu* tree.

FIGURE 95.—Marae on land Tenono, Tiipoto (Site 159): *a*, *ahu* 24 feet long, 2.5 feet high, eight limestone slabs on east face, seven on west; *b*, *ahu* 21 feet long, 2.5 feet high, seven limestone slabs on north face, six on south; *c*, pavement 57 feet long, of basalt flagstones; 1, platform 1 foot high, perhaps a grave; 2, basalt upright 2 feet high leaning away from *ahu*; 3, part of small platform similar to 1.

Site 163. Marae Puatahi (Pu'a-tahi), on land of same name, Maroe District. A marae *tupuna*. Only a single basaltic prism upright, 2 feet high, is left to mark the spot.

Site 164. Marae Mape, on land of same name, Maroe District (fig. 96).

A marae *tupuna*. The *ahu* has been almost completely destroyed. Many of the uprights on the courtyards, however, are standing. These uprights are today carefully avoided, as it is related that a native in clearing this marae touched one of them and soon after died.

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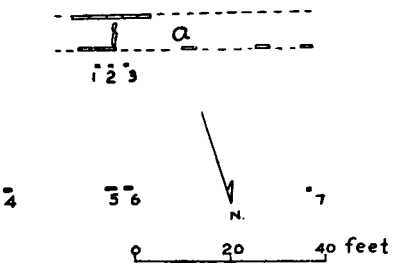
Site 165. Marae at Poureva, Maroe (fig. 97).

Site 166. Marae Aoa, on land Muturaa, Tauraimua *mataeinaa.*

Said to be a marae *tupuna.* A great rectangular area, 69 by 225 feet, enclosed by a single line of limestone slabs on edge, 2 to 5 feet long, 1 to 2.5 feet high. No trace of an *ahu* is to be seen and I doubt if any ever existed, but a basalt slab 5 feet long, 2 feet wide, stands 30 feet from the north end and 15 feet from the east side. At the opposite end a large basalt slab lies prone.

Fifty yards inland from the marae is the foundation of a round-ended house, 24 by 57 feet. It is enclosed by coral slabs in the same manner as the marae.



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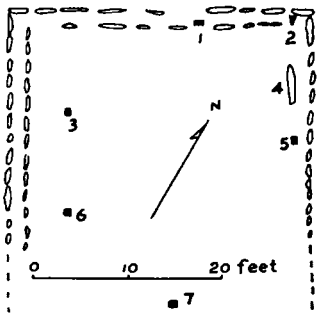

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FIGURE 96.—Marae Mape, Maroe (Site 164): *a, ahu,* facing stones which remain are of limestone, slabs of rear row only 1 to 2 feet high, those of front row 2 to 3 feet high; 1-8, uprights; 1, 8 inches high; 2, 10 inches high; 3, 8 inches high; 4, 40 inches high; 5, 33 inches high; 6, 18 inches high; 7, 12 inches high; 8, 2 feet high.

FIGURE 97.—Marae Poureva, Maroe (Site 165), 32 feet square: 1-7, dike prism uprights; 1, 33 inches high; 2, 3, 2 feet high; 4, fallen, 3 feet long; 5-6, 2 feet high; 7, 1.5 feet high.

Site 167. Marae at Teavaava, by the side of the trail to Haavai Bay. A marae *tahua,* said to be malignant to trespassers. It consists of two dike column uprights 2 feet high and 6 feet apart and a few loose stones scattered about.

Site 168. Maraes Titiarai or Tiatiarai, and Tahuea, on land Vaitutia, Fare District, on property of Marcantoni. Several large uprights are said still to mark their sites.

Site 169. Marae Orafea, on land Mataroa-iti, Faahiti, Faretou *mataeinaa.* The broken *ahu* of limestone slabs is 4 feet wide, 3 feet high.

Site 170. Marae Matairea, land Mataroa-rahi, Faahiti. Archery is said to have been practised here. Only traces of the marae are left.

Site 171. Marae Apaapaiterai (Apa-apa-i-te-ra'i), about a quarter of a mile within Faahiti Valley. A platform 30 feet long, 9 feet wide, 2 feet high, of rough piled rocks. No pavement, walls, coral, or uprights are to be seen. The ruin was pointed out by an old native lady living next to it.

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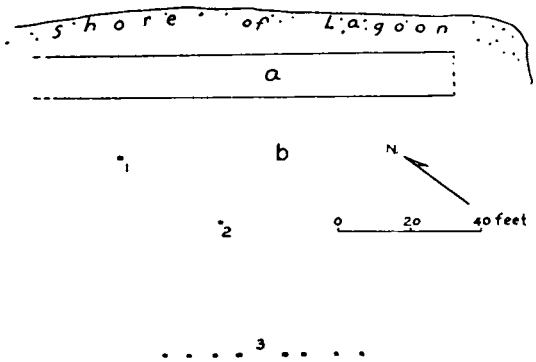
Site 172. Marae Arutoerau (Aru-toerau), west bank of Faahiti Stream.

Much in ruins. The *ahu* was at least 33 feet long and the pavement 111 feet long. The platform lies parallel to the stream and the side towards it is bounded by large limestone slabs 2 feet to 3 feet high, set on edge. This feature may have been a later adaptation to keep out freshets when the marae was converted into a house site.

Huahine Iti

Site 173. Marae Maruaito, on land Maruaito, Atitiao *mataeinaa,* Maroe (fig. 99). A marae *mataeinaa,* on flat land 500 yards from the lagoon shore.



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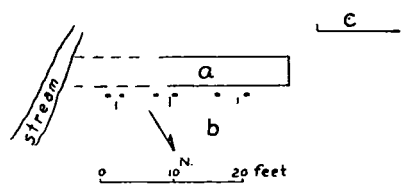

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Figure 98.—Marae Ohiti, Taafara, Tefarerii (Site 175): *a, ahu* 120 feet long, faced with limestone slabs 8 to 12 feet long, averaging 7 feet high; *b,* rough pavements; 1, basalt upright 2 feet high; 2, approximate location of basalt uprights; 3, basalt uprights 1 to 2 feet high.

Figure 99.—Marae Maruaito, Maroe (Site 173): *a, ahu* 30 feet long, 2 feet high, faced with limestone slabs; *b,* remains of pavement; *c,* house platform; 1, basalt uprights 1.5 to 2 feet high.

Site 174. Marae Parau (Pa-rau) on land Tenini, Maroe.

What is to be seen today is a rough pavement 20 feet wide, 30 feet long, 1 foot high, its long axis parallel to the shore. Bits of coral are scattered over the surface, probably the remains of a destroyed *ahu.* No uprights could be found. In the very center of the pavement is a chamber 2 feet square, 1 foot deep, covered by slabs. The chamber contains a female skull and two femurs.

Site 175. Marae Ohiti, at Taafara, Tefarerii (fig. 98).

A marae *mataeinaa.* A burial cave is said to exist directly inland of the marae. This marae is probably the one out of which Tyerman "picked several human skulls, being those of victims who had been offered to Oro."

Site 176. Marae Pohuerautea (Po-hue-rau-tea), on land of same name, Parea.

An area 36 by 108 feet enclosed by a single line of limestone slabs, 3 to 8 feet long, 2 to 3 feet high, set on edge. It lies with the long axis 40 degrees west of north, at right angles to the lagoon. West 45 feet from the marae is a small enclosure 7 by 10

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feet, consisting of five limestone slabs 3 feet high, set on edge. A foot in front of it and towards the marae is a basalt upright 2 feet high.

Site 177. Marae at "Matara Village," Parea.

Tyerman mentions a family marae here, opposite the island Araara, dedicated to the worship of a shark. According to the tradition he heard, a shark worked his way up from underground and amid convulsions of the earth appeared through a cleft at this spot. Tyerman (56, p. 245) writes:

"In commemoration of so great a prodigy, the ancestors of our informant had built the marae, which came into his possession by inheritance. He had, however, desecrated the shrine, or rather, consecrated it to a better purpose, having converted it into a dwelling for himself and his family . . . This marae being situated very near the lagoon, a shark once worked his way through the sand and took personal possession of the temple, the water flowing in with him; whereupon the reservoir thus formed being properly dammed up, and from time to time replenished, he luxuriated in his sanctuary, and daily received his food from the devotees who flocked thither."

This may be marae Matairea, as Tyerman mentions only two maraes right on the shore, one larger than the other (56, p. 248). We saw only two maraes. Matairea is the smaller and Pohuerautea the larger.

Site 178. Marae Vaiotaha, on land Punamiti, Parea.

A marae *tupuna*. The *ahu*, 16 feet long, 5 feet wide, 3 feet high, is faced with limestone slabs. Its long axis lies 55 degrees east of north. It stands on the inland end of a pavement 28 feet wide, 45 feet long. The pavement is at least 100 yards from the water.

Site 179. Marae Teana, on land Tataura, Parea. A marae *tupuna*. It stands on the north bank of the stream at the base of the hill slope. All that may be seen is an *ahu*, 50 feet long, 5 feet wide, faced with limestone slabs.

Site 180. Marae Matairea, land Vaiamai, Parea. A marae *tupuna*. An *ahu* 33 feet long, 8 feet wide, faced with limestone slabs and standing a few yards from the lagoon and parallel to it. The *ahu* lies due north. On the inland side of the *ahu* is a pavement.

Site 181. Marae Taiharuru, on land of same name, Parea. A marae of a chief. The *ahu*, 27 feet long, 8 feet wide, 3 feet high, stands 30 feet from the shore and parallel to it. The facing is of limestone slabs. We were told many skulls were to be seen here a short time ago.

Site 182. Marae Anini, on the east shore of Tiva Point, the southern extremity of Huahine Iti (figs. 10, 100).

The marae lies 50 yards from the beach, to which its *ahu* is parallel, hidden in a dark grove of trees, where it has been left strictly alone. It was the national marae of Huahine Iti. The deity of the marae was Oro, but Hiro was also worshiped there (17, vol. 3, p. 9). In the upper story of this two-storied *ahu*, says Tyerman (56, vol. 1, p. 241), the bones of human and animal sacrifices were interred. The court, which adjoins the inner, or west face, is not marked off by a pavement or stone walls. On the court are standing the two uprights shown in the plan. To the south of the uprights is a small *ahu* of another marae standing and sharing the same court. About 50 yards

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inland from the main *ahu* are the ruins of what appear to be small *ahu* or graves. One or two basalt uprights were seen in the vicinity. The last priest of this marae, Hiro (17, vol. 3, p. 9), accompanied Ellis and Tyerman to it. Tyerman (56, vol. 1, pp. 240-244) gives the following valuable information concerning this marae, after stating that the *fare no Oro* (house of Oro) stood about opposite the middle of the inland face:

"It [the house of Oro] was a small structure, only 8 feet long by 6 in width. About 3 yards beyond, and upon the ground, lay a flat stone, 12 or 14 inches square, on which the priest of Oro formerly was accustomed to stand, when he offered his prayers and practiced his enchantments. Close to this, rising behind it, was another stone, sufficiently broad and elevated to form a seat for him when weary [Tyerman fell into the usual error of supposing the sitting stone was sat on, when, as a matter of fact, the occupant only leaned his back against it when sitting on the pavement or a slab placed at its base] or when the duty of his office required him to assume the posture of repose. . . .

"We requested the old priest to take his stand, and show us in what manner he prayed to Oro. . . . With undisguised reluctance he consented, and stepped upon the accursed spot. . . . But when he was about to repeat one of the prayers to Oro . . . down from his station he leaped with precipitancy, crying out 'I dare not do it!' . . .

"At the further end [the south end] of this huge mass [the *ahu*] stood a small marae, 12 feet by 7 feet long and broad. This, we were told, had been built on the occasion of making an arii, that is, adopting into the royal family a person of inferior birth. . . .

"When the house of Oro had been erected, several human sacrifices were slain, and every pillar that supported the roof was, as it were, planted in the body of such a victim, having been driven, like a stake, through it into the ground. There had been fourteen grand occasions, when human sacrifices had been thus offered, within the remembrance of the old priest. As he enumerated them, he took a piece of taro leaf in his hand, a shred of which he tore off and threw upon the ground, to mark each, when he mentioned it in order.

"When the idols were burnt, the image of Oro . . . was also demanded by the regenerators of this country. . . The old priest . . . hid his god—a shapeless log of timber—in a cave among the rocks. . . Hautia . . . insisted upon its being brought forth, and committed to the flames. . .

"One of the largest stones of this dilapidated marae was taken away a few weeks ago to Fare [Huahine Nui] and there placed over the grave of the young heir, King Marama's son, Taaroarii, who died in 1821. He became a Christian convert in 1813

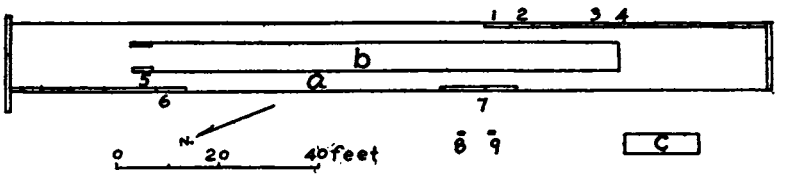

FIGURE 100.—Marae Anini, Tiva Point (Site 182): *a*, first story, 150 feet long, averaging 6 feet high, completely filled with coral stones; *b*, second story, averaging 4 feet high, only slightly filled; both stories faced entirely with limestone slabs 4.5 to 8 feet high, two slabs of north end of *a*, overlap east and west faces, 25 slabs cover east face, 23 slabs cover west face but 3 are missing; *c*, *ahu* of limestone slabs, more than 2 feet high; 1-7, position of slabs having petroglyphs; 1, simple small circle incised; 2, simple turtle incised; 3, series of five pairs of lobes in relief and three series of concentric circles in relief (fig. 130, *d*); 4, simple incised turtle (fig. 132, *m*); 5, two circles in relief; 6, incised semicircle (pl. 15, *B*); 7, incised turtle, body 3 inches in diameter and filled with vertical cross; 8, 9, basalt uprights; 8, 2.5 feet high; 9, 2 feet high.

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[56, vol. 12, pp. 1-8, 169]. Near this marae there are two stones, one upright, the other prostrate, the only remains of a very ancient structure of a similar kind. They are both basaltic fragments, of irregular angular shape; but whence they were brought we could not learn. To these dumb blocks divine honours were accustomed to be paid, and prayers offered by the fanatic priests and the deluded multitude."

Site 183. Marae Titoe, on land Poparoa, Tiva Point, Haapuu. A medium-sized marae of the usual type. The *ahu* faced with limestone slabs is still standing. Opposite the marae, in shallow water, is a tiny stone enclosure, a vivarium for octopus.

Site 184. Marae dedicated to shark deities.

Situated 3 miles within the valley of Parea on a bench in a deep forest. Tyerman (56, vol. 1, pp. 247-248) says that "on this spot the raatiras, or landowners, used to meet to practise the sacred exercise of the bow and arrow, which being tabued, were never employed as weapons in war."

Site 185. Marae Toahiti (To'a-hiti), on land Mookini, Haapuu. A sorcerer's (*tahu'a*) marae. Simply a pit 15 feet in diameter and 3 feet deep. The evil spirit was supposed to dwell in this hole.

RAIATEA

Opoa District

Site 186. Marae Taputapuatea and surrounding ruins (figs. 101, 102).

On the flat, wide point named Matahiraterai (Mata-hira-te-ra'i) just east of Opoa Village stands the great marae of Taputapuatea surrounded by the remains of five or six other maraes. The flat, sandy point is isolated by a ridge coming to the shore on the east, called Matarepeta (Mata-le-peta) hill, and by a small hill touching the shore on the west. The low land enclosed between these two hills was sacred to the god Oro and was called Te Po (The Night); the rest of Raiatea was referred to as Te Ao (The Day). The boundaries of Te Po are precisely marked in the west by a prone dike column named Tuiamarafea (Tu-ia-ma-rafea—also the name of a marae upright standing at marae Taputapuatea, at Papetoai, Moorea), and in the east by a small basalt boulder in the water named Tupi-ofai. This stone also marks the boundary between Opoa and Hotopuu districts.

Marae Taputapuatea occupies the central position in Te Po. Its *ahu* lies due north and south (as nearly as can be determined by a hand compass). The ground east of it is entirely free of loose stones and is planted with coconuts. The ground adjoining the west face for a distance of at least 150 feet is sprinkled with loose coral stones and, having been left to itself, is now concealed in a thicket of *hutu* trees. A young *ora* tree now grows on the south end of the *ahu*. No ironwood or *tamanu* trees are present. All of the trees seen today have undoubtedly sprung up since the marae was abandoned. Three basalt slabs are standing upright in the grove of *hutu* trees (fig. 101) proving beyond question that the court adjoined the west face of the *ahu*. The upright nearest the *ahu* (fig. 102) is 5.5 feet high. Our informant, F. Roometua, said that the umbilical cord of the arii's child was buried under this stone. He also called the small platform, about 2 feet high, which is placed against the west face of the *ahu*, about the middle, an *ea* (step). I have no doubt, however, from the testimony regarding this feature which is to be had from the marae of Manunu, Huahine, that this platform marks the *avaa*, or place where the chief images and sacred relics were placed during ceremonies.

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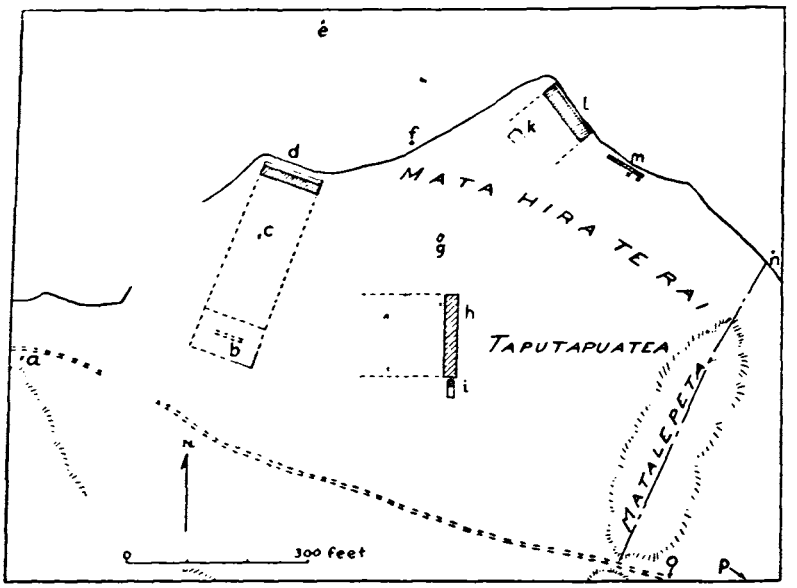

FIGURE 101.—Marae Taputapuatea (Site 186) and surrounding ruins at Te Po, district of Opoa: *a*, prone dike column 2.5 feet long, 1 foot wide, named Tuiamarafea; *b*, stone platform 3 feet high on south end of pavement, along top extend two parallel lines, 3 feet apart, of low coral slabs on edge; *c*, basalt slab 1 foot wide, 3 feet long, lying flat, called today *ofa'i tapu taata* (stone of human sacrifice); *d*, marae *ahu* 104 feet long, 11 feet wide, facing slabs, at least 9 of basalt, average 3.5 feet high but range from 2.5 to 8 feet, *ahu* rests on low platform forming shelf 8 feet wide, 2 feet high, on seaward side; *e*, stone called Atimana, in the lagoon somewhere in the vicinity; *f*, great limestone slab called Te-pua-pe-o-Hauviri (The-crumbling-slab-of-Hauviri), lying prone and half immersed in shallow water; *h*, *ahu* of marae Taputapuatea, *x* on the court marks decaying trunk of great tree; *i*, rectangular structure, at north end is platform 12 feet square, 1 foot high, faced on the three outer sides by limestone slabs on edge, at south end is enclosure 12 by 18 feet of limestone slabs on edge; *k*, slab called Te-papa-tea-o-ruea, 9 feet 1 inch high, 4 feet wide at the middle, 1 foot thick, stands opposite fourth facing slab from west end of marae Hauviri; *l*, *ahu* of marae Hauviri; *m*, *ahu* of small marae, 8 feet wide, 69 feet long, faced with both limestone and basalt slabs averaging 3 feet high, 4 feet long, from left to right on south face the 4th, 8th, 11th, and 13th slabs basalt, on north face are two facing slabs of basalt, neither being opposite a basalt slab of front face; *x's* mark two ancient *tamanu* trees; *n*, small basalt boulder named Tupai-ofai, about 2.5 feet in diameter, placed offshore a few yards in several inches of water; *o*, direction in which is to be seen dike chimney called Ro-hutu; *p*, direction in which is to be seen dike bluff called Teroro-oputu.

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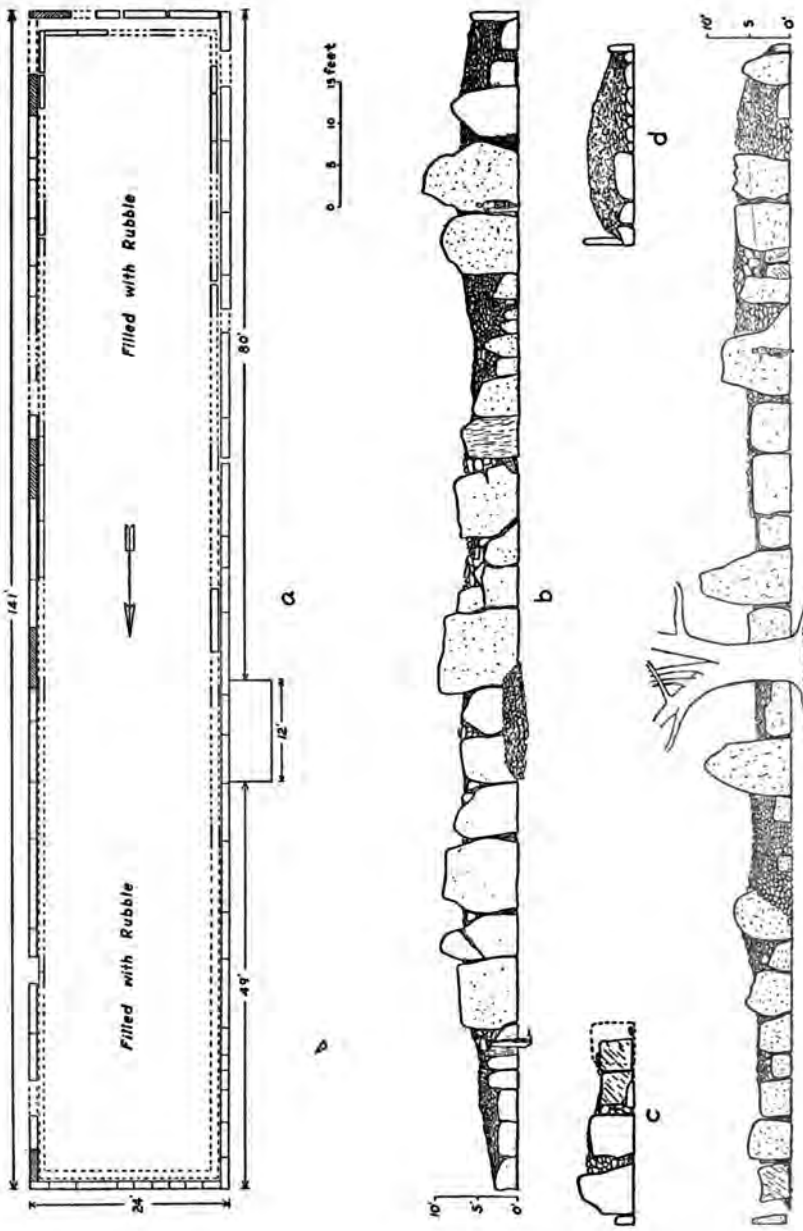

FIGURE 102.—Plan and elevation of marae Taputapuatea (Site 186): *a*, plan, showing length and position of all visible slabs, shaded rectangules represent slabs now fallen; *b*, west face, two basalt slabs shown by vertical shading; *c*, south end; *d*, north end; *e*, east face.

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Banks (2, p. 114) and Parkinson (46, p. 70) visited marae Taputapuatea in 1768. They mention seeing many long planks (*unu*) standing on the stone platform (*ahu*) carved with various figures throughout their length. At the marae was an altar (*fata*) on which lay a hog "of about 80 pounds, which had been put there whole and very nicely roasted," and a fish. Near the altar was a house (*fareiamanaha*) in which were seen rolls of tapa, marae drums, and a model of a canoe about 3 feet long, upon which model were tied eight human lower jawbones. Four or five *fareatua,* "which were to be carried on poles" (2, p. 114), rested on supports adjoining the house. Parkinson said these little "cages," as he calls them, were called *oro,* and he thought they were intended for the reception of sacred birds (46, p. 70); but Banks, always more observant, examined one by putting his head into it. Finding within a parcel about 5 feet long by 1 foot thick wrapped up in mats, he tore through it with his fingers till he came to a surface of sennit weaving which he could not penetrate. He desisted from further examination because his act had quite naturally incensed the natives (2, p. 114). The object within this parcel was certainly a sennit representation of an ancestral god, and may have been the image of the god Oro himself, as his *to'o* must have been in one of these several *fareatua,* hence Parkinson mistook the name of the god Oro for the name of its ark and thought the name applied to arks in general. The image of Oro at Taputapuatea was woven with fine sennit into the shape of a man and covered with red and yellow plumage and wore a girdle of red feathers (32, p. 121). Into it the hair of Hiro is supposed to have been put (56, p. 255).

Parkinson (46, plate 10) gives an illustration of marae Taputapuatea which, however, does not follow exactly his or Banks' description.

De Bovis, observing in the Society Islands from about 1843 to 1853, gives what is obviously a first-hand description of the marae and such information concerning it as might be learned in his time. He says (7, p. 47) that before the altar (meaning the *ahu*) "there is simply a space paved with large slabs which served at one time for priests and the king, the priests always placed between the latter and the altar." De Bovis (7, p. 48) further states: "The great idols of the marae were kept in a special house [*fare-ia-manaha*] which was a little removed from it. At Opoa [at marae Taputapuatea] this house was within easy gunshot of the marae. It was situated on a stone platform, and the *fatarau* was situated quite near on a neighboring platform." My informant, F. Roometua, pointed out the marae on the shore westward of Taputapuatea (fig. 101, *d*) as the marae for Rahui-maa or Rahu-matatoru from Huahine and for Tiri, from Borabora, "who slept face down, arms around the god Oro." At least half the facing slabs of this marae are missing. A disrupted pavement connects the marae on the shore with a platform directly inland which was possibly the platform for the *fare-ia-manaha* referred to by de Bovis. This vicinity is called Hiti-tae.

Taputapuatea is the only marae seen by Handy or me which had a double facing of coral slabs. A careful examination revealed that the present inner facing was originally an outer facing, and that the present outer facing was subsequently added, widening, lengthening, and heightening the structure. Only two slabs, both in the west face, are basalt. All other visible slabs are limestone.

At one time human skulls and bones were scattered through the whole length of the *ahu,* but have now been entirely removed. A great depression in the top of the *ahu* at a point adjacent to the small platform against the west face is pointed out as having once contained numerous skulls.

The small ruin 5 feet south of the *ahu* of marae Taputapuatea appears to be the slab-framed *ahu* of a small marae in which the fill of the south end has been removed. It is evidently the miniature marae which, according to de Bovis, was erected for the worship of Hiro, in his capacity as god of thieves, the reason for its small dimensions being the nature of the cult whose practices were entirely incompatible with the presence of a numerous public (7, p. 46).

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Marae Hauviri or Hauiri, on the tip of Matahiraterai Point (figs. 101, *l*; 103). This marae was, according to my informant, F. Roometua, the property of the family of the *arii-maro-ura*. It is evidently referred to in the invocation delivered at the "dipping" of the newly inaugurated arii at Opoa (32, p. 191): "Rere'a i te 'ura i Hauviri" (Flying in the sacred red feathers of Hauviri). It is almost certain that the investiture stone, Te-papa-tea-ia-ruea (pl. 14, *B*), appears to be physically an integral part. In fact, Handy (29, p. 91) learned from Marau that the *maro ura* was worn at "Hauiri [misprinted Huairi] . . . close by Taputapuatea at Opoa." The *ahu* is 20 by 102 feet. A shelf 2 feet high and 2 and 6 feet wide, composed of pieces of coral, runs along the lagoon face. The level of the *ahu* fill (which is mainly of pieces of coral but has some basalt stones) is at present only about 1 foot, whereas the facing slabs average 4 feet in height.

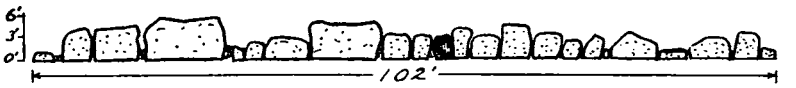

FIGURE 103.—South face of marae Hauviri (fig. 101, *l*), shaded slab represents a basalt stone.

One facing slab of both the north and south face is of basalt. The others are limestone slabs. A human jawbone was found lying on the northern end of the *ahu*. Traces of a pavement lie before the inland face of the *ahu*. Henry (32, p. 120) calls this marae Tau-raa-tapu (Landing-place-of-human-sacrifices), which is the name of the strip of beach on the west where grounded the canoes bearing human victims.

The stone Te-papa-tea-ia-ruea (The-white-slab-of-investiture) is today popularly known as the *ofa'i faito taata* (stone for measuring people). The current legend claims that this slab reached the armpit of King Tahi-toe, and that it towered only 1 foot above the head of King Tamatoa.

In the shallow water off the beach called Tau-raa-tapu lies a great broken limestone slab (fig. 101, *f*) called Te-pua-pe-i-Hauviri (The-decaying-slab-of-Hauviri), evidently discarded while unloading from a raft.

Between marae Hauviri and marae Taputapuatea are the ruins of a small enclosure (fig. 101, *g*), possibly the refuse enclosure of the *arii* family.

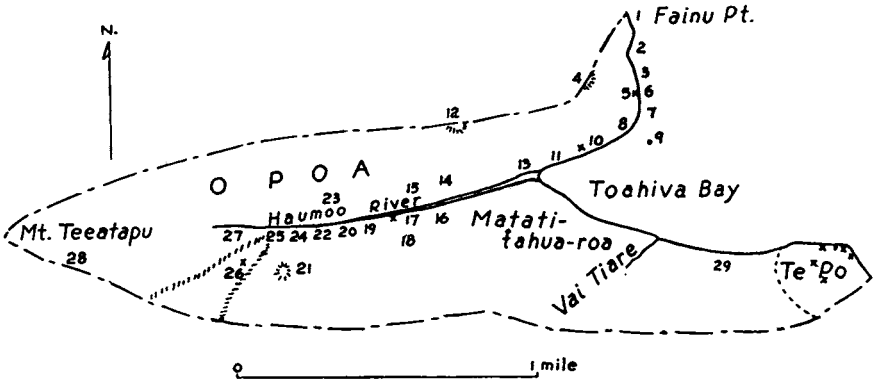

FIGURE 104.—Sketch map of Opoa Valley: *x*, maraes; numbers refer to place names (p. 150).

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Place names of Opoa Valley (fig. 104):

1. Fainu Point. A stone called Vaitao marks the boundary between Opoa and Faarepa (called today, Farepa) District.
2. Manua (Manu'a)
3. Tipu (Ti-pu) Village
4. Tairuahotu (Ta'i-ruahotu) Hill
5. Maraateone (Maraate-one)
6. Arahaoa. The marae is Teraivetea.
7. Otuhionoa (Otu-hi'onoa)
8. Tohiapapa (To-hiapapa)
9. Apipo rock, said to be a house in the sea
10. Tehoro. The marae is Fareamai (Fare-amai)
11. Vainehu
12. Matapure Hill
13. Toopu (To' o-pu)
14. Paepae-Apitimanu
15. Manihi
16. Vaipohe (Vai-pohe)
17. Tepo-a-Mio. The marae is Vaearai (Vae-a-ra'i)
18. Tipoto
19. Faautumu (Faautumu)
20. Mapehava, ancient taro fields. Bodies of chiefs were kept over night at Mapehava preparatory to taking them to Puu Roa, early in the morning, for burial.
21. Puu Roa. The remains of ancient Opoa chiefs were taken from their burial cave and buried in this hill, when it became the custom of the royal family to bury their dead there.
22. Vaitaahue
23. Uruvera
24. Farevi (Fare-vi)
25. Paepae-Opiti
26. Hirivari
27. Apiriae
28. A fort (pari) called Tehaamarama, located somewhere on mount Teeatapu
29. Vaihinano

Site 187. Rectangular platform at Paepae Apitimanu. (See fig. 104 for location.) The place derives its name from the name of the structure.

The platform is 33 feet wide, 141 feet long, 1 foot high, and the long axis bears north 30 degrees east. The first course of the facing is of basalt slabs set on end or on edge. The upper courses are laid flat. The northeast cornerstone has two smooth outer faces meeting at right angles. This is the only dressed stone seen, though numerous slabs have been roughly shaped along their edges. The northwest corner is made with one natural slab placed on edge overlapping another which meets it at right angles. The platform is paved with large flat stones.

Pani, an ancient chief of Opoa, and his paramour, Pao, from Borabora, are said to have dwelt on this platform.

Site 188. Marae Vaearai, called also Vaearai-Taaroa and Raimaruarua (Ra'i-ma-ruarua) on the south bank of Opoa Stream, at Te-po-a-mio. Handy had pointed out to him as the site of this marae a line of four lava boulders and a large stone some yards from these and at right angles to them, all I could find in the vicinity.

Site 189. Marae Taumariari and several platforms at Hirivari, Opoa District (fig. 105).

This marae is situated on the crest of the ridge called Hirivari, a half mile from its foot, which is at the copra plantation called Paepaeopiti. The marae consists of a long, quadrangular platform ranging from 1 to 3 feet high and extending lengthwise along the top of the ridge. The platform is entirely paved with flagstones (pl. 17, *A*). Seven standing and two fallen uprights are now to be seen placed around the periphery of the platform (fig. 105, *a*). The uprights are all of basalt and average 2.5 feet high. The facing of the platform is formed of quadrangular, natural basalt slabs set on end (pl. 17,

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B). No coral whatsoever could be discovered on or about the structure. Fifteen feet west of the marae and at right angles to it is the beginning of a small rectangular platform divided lengthwise in two levels, the southern level being a foot higher. A hundred yards to the east of Taumariari marae is a small rectangular house platform. Three hundred yards down the ridge from the marae is a platform 1.5 feet high, 30 feet long and 12 feet wide, completely paved. It extends across the ridge.

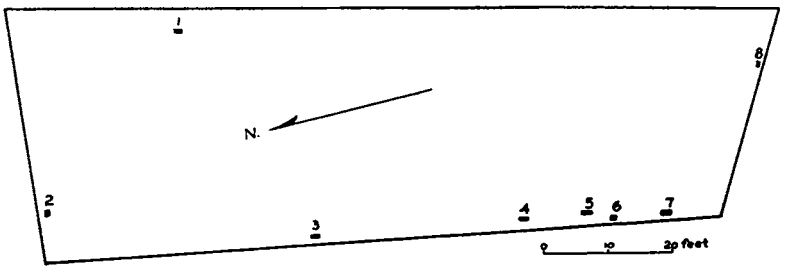

FIGURE 105.—Marae Taumariari at Hirivari, Opoa (Site 189), length of east side 120 feet, south side 114 feet, north end 40 feet, south end 34 feet: 1-8, basalt uprights; 1, 3 feet high; 2, 3 feet high, 8 inches wide and thick, fallen; 3, 2.5 inches high, 2 feet wide, 5 inches thick; 4, 2 feet high, 10 inches wide, 9 inches thick; 5, 2 feet high, 1 foot wide, 3 inches thick; 6, 2 feet high, 10 inches wide, 5 inches thick, fallen; 7, 2.5 feet high, 1.5 feet wide, 5 inches thick; 8, 1 foot high.

Site 190. Marae Fare-a-mai at Tehoto, Opoa. A small marae completely in ruins. A few slabs of coral were noted lying about.

Site 191. Marae Teraivetea (Te-ra'i-vetea) and house site at Arahaoa.

The marae is said to be the second marae *arii* at Opoa, and to have been founded by Tefatumoana-Tini-Taaroa, who took a stone from marae Vaearai for this purpose. Three slabs of basalt, about 3 feet high but now fallen, are all that is left of the *ahu* facing, except for several scattered blocks of coral. It was destroyed to supply material for the Opoa church. Inland across the road is part of a paved house platform of the house Tepotu-Taaroa. Arahaoa seems to have been a little entity in itself and is honored by this chant:

The mountain above is Tetairuahotu,
The cape seaward is Otuhionoa,
The assembly ground is Maraateone,
The spring is Vaiata,
The house is Tepotu-Taaroa-Tepoufahare.

RUINS OUTSIDE OPOA DISTRICT

Site 192. Marae Taipari (Ta'i-pari) at Fareparahi, Faarepa District. Destroyed except for one standing limestone slab of the *ahu*. According to Handy's notes there are two maraes in Faarepa, one called Taiparirahi which belonged to Tehaapapa, chief of Huahine, and one called Taipari-iti which belonged to a chief of the district and was not a marae *arii*.

Site 193. Marae on Pauana Hill, inland in Farepaiti District, Raiatea (fig. 106).

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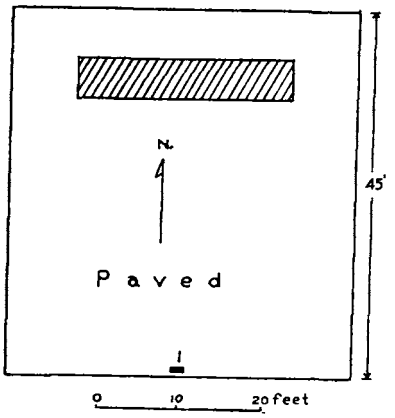
Situated on a broad shelf on the northeast side of Pauana Hill, and a few minutes' walk from the summit. The marae is a paved rectangular terrace, 42 by 45 feet, and 2 feet high on the downslope side. The paving is like that at marae Taumariari. On the north end is an *ahu* faced with slabs set on end; all of those of the south face are basalt, but several of the north face are limestone. The slabs of the south face are uniformly 2.5 feet high, those of the north face 1.5 feet high. The *ahu* fill consists at present of a few loose basalt stones strewn the length of the interior, suggesting that the fill may have been largely of earth which has since washed away. A single small upright stands on the pavement opposite the center of the *ahu*.



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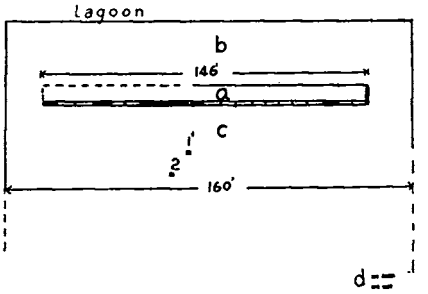

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FIGURE 106.—Marae on Pauana Hill (Site 193): *ahu* 5 feet wide, 26 feet long, 2 feet high, on pavement 42 by 45 feet; 1, upright 1 foot high.

FIGURE 107.—Marae Afaaiti on land Taputapuatea, Apooiti Valley, Uturoa (Site 199): *a, ahu* having 21 slabs on court face, slabs represented in black are basalt, all others limestone, those at each end 9 feet high, others average 7 feet high, most of rear slabs have been removed for road, 3 only are standing, 2 of these basalt; *b*, outer end of pavement extending to edge of lagoon, this part of marae a platform faced with single line of limestone slabs set on edge, waters of lagoon wash against front of platform; *c*, court over which are strewn coral and basalt stones of pavement; *d*, remains of small *ahu* 2.5 feet high; 1, 2, basalt uprights 1.5 feet high.

Site 194. Two small maraes in Faaroa Valley, on the south slopes of the land Apoomau leading to the head of the lagoon.

One of the maraes is a low platform 10 feet wide, 15 feet long, approximately; the other is 30 feet wide and 45 feet long. Each has a wall consisting of a single line of basalt slabs set on end and stretching across one end of the platform and about 4 feet from the margin. Presumably this wall is the inner facing of the *ahu*, the outer facing and the end slabs having fallen.

Site 195. House platform, an hour's walk up the trail into Faaroa Valley.

The structure is rectangular, 15 feet wide, 30 feet long, 2 feet high, and earth-filled. In the vicinity is a marae consisting of a wall of a single line of basalt slabs set on end and stretching across the downslope end of a small terrace, and 3 feet from the front margin of the terrace. On this margin is part of another such wall, showing that originally an *ahu* was present. Farther inland is a loose stone wall enclosure 2 feet high, 72

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feet wide, 129 feet long, said to have been a pigpen. Adjoining one end of the enclosure is a house platform 15 feet wide. The platform consists of a pavement of a single course of medium-sized stones embedded in the ground.

Site 196. Paepae of Turi, famous in legend, somewhere in Faaroa Valley.

A number of natives have evidently seen it; they describe it as a large platform with a leaning slab 5 feet high, called Turi's seat, in one corner. On my first attempt to visit this structure my guide tried to deceive me by leading me to a ruin more conveniently near. It was too dark to go on after discovering his deception. The second and last attempt proved futile because the new guide did not put in his promised appearance.

Site 197. Hill fort about 2 miles west of Uturoa.

The top is leveled, and several distinct terraces have been cut in the face of the hill, which is only a few hundred yards inland from the road. The present inhabitants know nothing about this site and do not realize it was undoubtedly a fort. Record by Handy.

Site 198. Fort on the crest of a hill (a spur of Temehani) overlooking the very head of Tepua Valley, at an elevation of about 2,500 feet.

The main part consists of a series of five terraces, each terrace being 6 to 8 feet deep and the same number of feet high. Several hundred feet above and beyond this, at a place protecting the approach to the others, is a pair of similar terraces, and some distance below on the other side of the series of five is a single terrace. The site is advantageous because a trail leads directly up from it, by way of the spur, to springs on Temehani; also, it lies close to the favorable approach to Tepua from the valleys to the west, by way of Temehani. The fort probably served as refuge for the people of Tepua. No one knows anything about this site. Record by Handy.

Site 199. Marae Afaatai, land Taputapuatea, Apooiti Valley, Uturoa District (fig. 107).

About a hundred yards from the lagoon and bordering on an arm of the lagoon, the marae may be seen from the road on the south side of the bridge. The *ahu* rests on the end of a *paepae* projecting into the lagoon. The *paepae* is faced with a single line of limestone slabs on edge.

Site 200. Marae Tainuu (Ta'i-nuu) and surrounding ruins, at Tevaitoa (fig. 108).

Baessler (3, p. 144) reproduces a photograph of the inland face of the *ahu* after the marae had been entirely cleared of brush and trees during the fighting between the French and the natives in 1897. His picture shows a long stretch of the facing and the rough coral pavement before the *ahu*. At that time the French took a quantity of the coral stones of the *ahu* fill for some of their barricades. Nevertheless, the fill still averages 5 feet deep. The *ahu* is considerably larger, higher, and better constructed than Taputapuatea, which is indisputably the older and possessed of the greater prestige.

Two coral facing slabs of the east face of the *ahu* have figures of turtles incised upon them. Some of the clearly visible turtles on one of the faces are shown in figure 132, *e-h*. Both these slabs and others have had names, dates, and such figures as French flags, a man smoking a pipe, and other schoolchild drawings cut or painted upon them. The more deeply cut and much-weathered turtle figures obviously do not belong to the European regime.

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The *paepae* of the chief's house (fig. 108, *d*) is a rectangular platform, earth-filled and faced with basalt blocks 2 to 3 feet high and apparently unworked, but selected because of their regularity. Four of the facing stones have petroglyphs. The southeast cornerstone is a rectangular basalt block 3.5 feet high, 6 feet long, and 1 foot wide, lying east and west. On the south face is engraved a turtle (fig. 132, *a*). At the southwest corner, the south cornerstone, 4 feet long, 30 inches high, is engraved with the conventional representation of a ceremonial headdress (pl. 19, *B*) used by the chief mourner.

On the slope which rises a little way inland from the chief's *paepae* are to be seen vestiges of marae Tetuira (fig. 108, *e*). Handy (30, p. 107) notes: "There was formerly evidently a series of small platforms one above the other. Three long hexagonal basalt columns are spoken of as the warriors of the chief. . . . This was described as the chief's marae tapu and is said to have been more sacred than Tainuu."

Above the last marae is another (fig. 108, *f*) named Taputuarai. This stands on the crest of the spur and consists of small platforms around a little square court, all made with rough volcanic stone. Under some stones at one corner were seen human bones. According to the present chief, Teunu, the war leaders of the arii used to live on this *paepae* keeping watch for enemies coming in either direction.

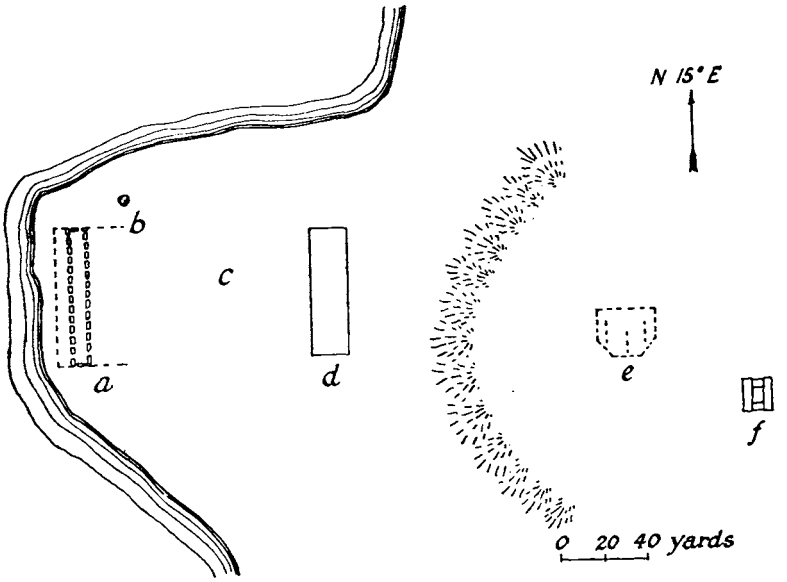

FIGURE 108.—Marae Tainuu and surrounding ruins at Tevaitoa: *a*, marae Tainuu (Site 200), *ahu* measures 163 feet long and 20 feet wide, facing slabs average 9 feet high and reach maximum height of nearly 13 feet (pl. 14, *A*), a number of slabs, not the least in height, are basalt, ends of *ahu* closed in by single great coral slab; *b*, basalt stone 3 feet high, 4 feet square, called Tauaao (Landing-of-booby), where a sacred booby used to perch to be fed by the chief; *c*, assembly ground called Raituia (Ra'i-tuia) originally paved with flat stones; *d*, *paepae* of chief's house, approximately 132 feet long, 45 feet wide, 1 to 2 feet high, earth-filled and faced with natural basalt blocks; *e*, vestiges of chief's marae tapu named Tetuira (Te-tuira), series of small terraces; *f*, warrior's marae, Taputuarai (Tapu-tua-ra'i), small platforms of rough volcanic stone around a small square court. (Reproduced from B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 79, fig. 7.)

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Mr. E. Parker Jones of Honolulu visited one or the other of these last two ruins in 1930. He gives the following description:

"About a kilometer directly behind the village of Tevaitao, on the top of a small conical hill, is a well-preserved marae. The natives call it a 'drying place'. It is built in the form of a square, 25 by 25 feet. The sides are vertical, built of round basalt stones. A flat stone, 4 by 6 feet, lies in the center. About 4 feet below the top of this marae, on the side facing the sea, is another stone platform of similar dimensions. Around the base of the platforms are circular pits, outlined with blocks of coral, 3 feet wide and 3 feet deep. Several are filled in with small stones. One of these I excavated, finding a flat bottom of stones laid very close together. A little pile of human bones lay in one corner, a skull on top."

Site 201. Heavy wall or platform, 5 feet wide, 15 feet long, 2 to 4 feet high, in the form of a flat segment of a circle which faces on a paved pentagonal area enclosed by a stone wall a single course high. It was located by E. S. C. Handy on the bottom of Uparu Valley, Tevaetoa, and is said to be a marae.

Site 202. An hour's walk up from the sea in Uparu Valley is a rough stone with a line of turtles carved around it. Monsieur Amiot, a resident of Uturoa, has seen it. Native guides who led Handy up the valley were unable to locate it.

Site 203. Not far from Tevaitoa, Handy observed a marae 200 yards from the sea which had its court on the seaward side. An upright stone stood in about the center of the court. The *ahu* appears to be 156 feet long and divided in the middle by a gap about 10 feet wide. It seems probable that two *ahu* are represented.

Site 204. Fort, 30 minutes' walk up the left side of the Vaiaao Valley.

This fort consists of a stone wall cutting off a level piece of ground on the bottom of the valley. The end of a spur comes down at the back, and a stream flows along each side. The wall is from 5 to 6 feet high, 5 to 7 feet thick. It is 84 feet long. Along the inland face of the wall is a step about 2 feet below the top, for defenders to stand on, no doubt. Some informants said it was built in anticipation of an invasion by the French in the 1840's. Record by Handy.

Site 205. Vaiea marae, on the north shore of the first bay south of Matahiraterai Point, and directly opposite the bluff, Teroro-oputu, district of Hotopuu, Raiatea.

Said to have belonged to the principal chief of the district. The *ahu* is 6 by 87 feet, faced entirely with limestone slabs 3 to 4 feet high. A pavement of stones embedded in the ground extends inland from the *ahu* 60 feet. The *ahu* bears north 65 degrees east. Most of the facing slabs are fallen and the pavement is greatly disrupted.

TAHAA

Place Names

The following list of the more important place names of Tahaa is given to help the reader locate the ruins described. The number with each name gives its location on the map (fig. 109).

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1. Vaitoare (Tahaa Village)
2. Faataoto (Toto-uta) Bay
3. Peeoni Point
4. Tepane Point
5. Motea Islet
6. Haamene Bay
7. Fareura Mountain
8. Tetaharoa
9. Para Point
10. Toahotu Islet
11. Toahotu Pass
12. Mahaea Islet
13. Pataia Point
14. Faaha (Ofaaofa) Bay
15. Meho Point
16. Matahiri-i-te-rai
17. Raau Bay
18. Moute (Mo-ute)
19. Mahavana
20. Tara
21. Papai-apaapa Point
22. Vaimai
23. Paeheo
24. Faatira Bay
25. Farerama Point
26. Hipu Village
27. Mopua (Mo-pu'a)
28. Tuuvahine
29. Rauore
30. Afakatea or Faahue Bay
31. Ponapae Point
32. Pahure Village and Bay
33. Maua Roa
34. Tauotaha (Hill here called Umu-o-Hiro)
35. Patio Bay
36. Tupenu Point
37. Rauoi Point
38. Pueheru or Puaheru
39. Pu Rauti
40. Fareroi
41. Farepia
42. Teruopae
43. Tapuamu Bay
44. Mamara Point
45. Tete Mountain
46. Ohiri Mountain
47. Otuone Bay
48. Tiva Point
49. Pari Point
50. Hurepiti Bay and Village
51. Tiamahana Point
52. Paipai Pass
53. Patii (or Patea) Bay
54. Vaiaahai Point
55. Apopuhi Point
56. Oapu (or Opu) Bay
57. Toamaro or Otueheru
58. Fatufatu Islet

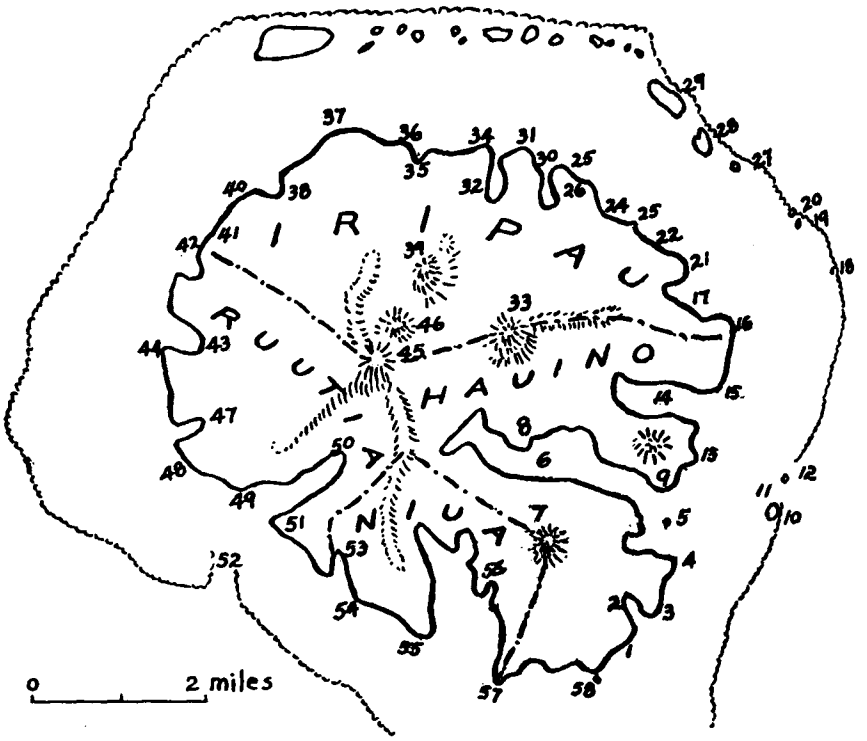

FIGURE 109.—Map of the island of Tahaa, showing the districts as they were in 1926; numbers refer to place names above.

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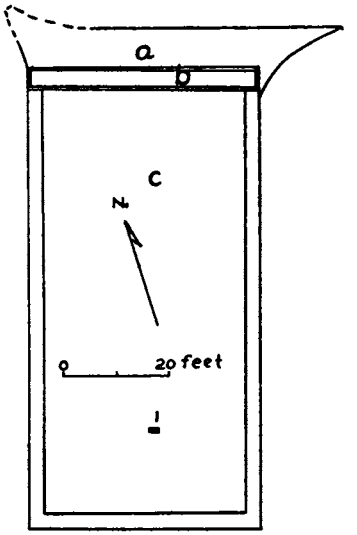
The districts shown on the map (fig. 109) are the present ones. Hugenin in 1901 (33, p. 20) gives 10 divisions: Iripau (Iri-pa'u) District and Ruutia District are each divided into four parts, one part of Ruutia alternating with one part of Iripau. The eight divisions cover the present area of the two districts taken together. The other two districts, Hauino and Niua, are as given here. Best (6, p. 112) has recorded a number of Tahaa place names known by the Maori.

At Namihere on the east coast (fig. 112) is located the outcrop of rock popularly called Maupiti granite, as Maupiti Island is the only other place where it is found. The rock, however, is not granite but a very compact basalt. At Matau-a-Hiri on the shore reef is a formation of coral resembling a gigantic hook said to be the hook of Hiro. At Tehoipu is a loose basalt rock in the lagoon water having the shape of a rough cup 2 feet in diameter, and this is said to be Hiro's cup.



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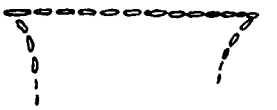

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FIGURE 110.—Marae Onetari at Para, Haamene (Site 206): *a*, well-built *paepae* of dike stones, 3 feet high; *b*, *ahu* faced with both limestone and basalt slabs averaging 4 feet high, ends closed with slabs of coral, fill is of chunks of coral and basalt stones; *c*, well-paved court 47 by 80 feet, enclosed by wall 3 to 4 feet wide, 2 to 3 feet high, whole of paved area elevated about 1.5 feet above surrounding ground level; 1, large erect slab, several much smaller elsewhere on pavement.

FIGURE 111.—House site (?) at Huhapaia, Tahoa, on gently sloping ground (Site 211): length about 30 feet; outlined by line of embedded basalt stones.

RUINS

Site 206. Marae Onetari, at Para, 200 yards inland from marae Farepatu, Haamene (fig. 110). The best-preserved marae seen on Tahaa.

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Site 207. Marae on land Fatuira, Matahira Point.

The site of a round-ended house, 18 feet wide, 41 feet long, whose plan is outlined by stones embedded in the ground, faces side-on to a platform of the same width built out into the lagoon waters. No *ahu* is now traceable on this marae, if indeed it is one. The natives do not dare to pick flowers from the gardenia bushes growing on the site, in the belief that this was once a marae.

Site 208. Marae Tehotu, at Raai Point (figs. 112, 113).

Site 209. Marae Vaipitoa, at Raai.

A platform not more than 1 foot high, and measuring 26 feet wide, 70 feet long. It lies with its long axis parallel to the shore and 200 yards from it. No *ahu* is traceable, nor a single piece of coral. The platform is paved with basalt flagstones and framed with stones set on edge and flush with the pavement. Set 1 foot from the north edge are two basalt slab uprights 12 feet apart, each about 3 feet high.

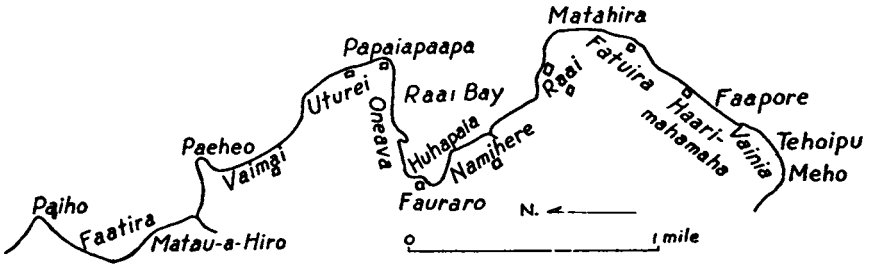

FIGURE 112.—Ten maraes on the east coast of Tahaa, vicinity of Raai Bay.

Site 210. Marae near land Haarimahanahana. A disrupted pavement about 30 feet wide, at the water's edge. Back from the front, 18 feet, stand two basalt slab uprights 3.5 feet high, 10 feet apart, not in good line with each other.

Site 211. House site at Huhapaia in vicinity of Raai Bay (fig. 111). A low earth terrace faced with a line of small basalt slabs set on edge.

Site 212. Marae at Namihere.

The *ahu* is merely a platform of basalt stones, 4.5 feet wide, 40 feet long, framed with limestone slabs set on edge and not more than 1 foot high except for two slabs about 2 feet high. The *ahu* lies parallel to the shore. Abutting its inland face is a disrupted pavement of basalt flagstones. The pavement is about 60 feet long. On it stand several dike prisms 1 to 2.5 feet high.

Site 213. Marae Tuatini, on land Fauraro (fig. 114). Said to have been built by natives from Borabora, and therefore not a marae *opu*.

Site 214. Marae at Oneava. The remains of the *ahu* of limestone slab facing, 54 feet long, 4 feet wide, stand on the outer end of a pavement at the water's edge and parallel to it. Only 6 slabs are left.

Site 215. Tomb in the form of a house (pl. 18, *A*) called Fare Upaupa (evidently the name of the chief who was buried there), resting on a square

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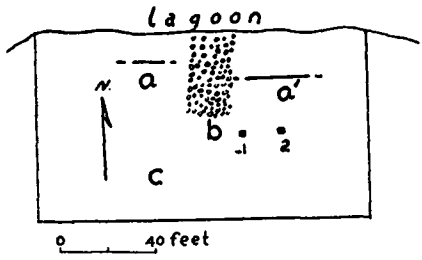
stone platform on Paiho Point. The roof, tie beams, and sides are made out of nicely dressed limestone slabs. The use of mortar and smaller stones for filling in the gable ends proves that this unique structure is post-European.

Site 216. Marae Ahuroa, at Patio. A marae *arii.* It is said to have been of the Taputapuatea type and now mostly destroyed for road building. Record by Handy.

Site 217. Marae Taianapa, Vaitoare. A marae *arii.* Nothing left but scattered stones 200 yards inland. Record by Handy.



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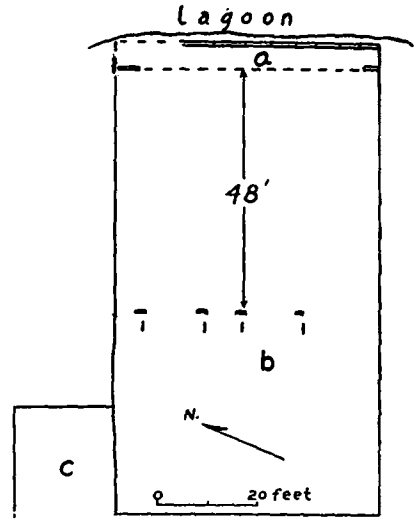

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FIGURE 113.—Marae Tehotu, Raai (Site 208), length 136 feet: *a*, outer line of limestone *ahu* facing slabs; *a'*, inner line; *b*, roadway paved with basalt slabs (unless this is modern it indicates that two *ahu* stood on the platform); *c*, large coral and basalt platform; 1, basalt upright 5 feet high; 2, basalt upright 4 feet high, 1.5 feet wide, 10 inches thick.

FIGURE 114.—Marae Tuatini, Fauraro (Site 213), length 93 feet, width 51 feet: *a*, *ahu* faced with limestone slabs, some 3.5 feet high and 5 feet long; *b*, pavement of basalt stones; *c*, platform 20 by 30 feet, 1 foot high; 1, line of basalt uprights 1 to 2 feet high.

Site 218. Marae Manupae, on small bay called Mututiairi, between Vaitoare and Haamene. All that is now to be seen is an extensive pile of brain coral on the shore. The natives are afraid to go near it lest they contract *fefei.* Record by Handy.

Site 219. Marae at Toihe, Haamene. Belonged to Opuhara, a great woman warrior. A tiny marae having an *ahu* faced with coral slabs. Record by Handy.

Site 220. Marae Farepatu, Haamene. A marae arii. A rectangular platform of coral and a few basalt stones. No *ahu* now to be seen. Record by Handy.

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BORABORA

Place Names

The eight original districts of Borabora (fig. 115) were Nunue, Tiipoto, Tevaitapu, Hitiaa, Anau, Atitia, Amanahune, and Ativahia. At present the districts have been reduced to three: Nunue, comprising the old districts of

Figure 115.—Map of Borabora traced from survey made by Duperrey (16) in 1823. Numbers refer to place names (p. 161).

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Amanahune, Ativahia, Nunue, and Tiipoto; Anau, comprising Atitia and Anau; and Tevaitapu, comprising Hitiaa and Tevaitapu. The list which follows contains the place names of Borabora learned from natives in 1925 and 1931. Numbers refer to the map (fig. 115).

1. Vai-tāpe
2. Mata-pae
2a. Vai-ati
3. Tura'a-pūo
4. Te-tara-o-Paia
5. Otemanu
6. Te-ana-o-pe'a
7. Te-ara-te-ati (name of trail)
8. Oro-peru
9. Vero-hiti
10. Po'o-fai
11. Tu-peti
12. To'opua (name of whole island)
13. Tehou
14. To'opua iti
15. Rai-titi
16. Matira
17. Mai-o'o
18. Piti-u'u-uta
19. Piti-u'u-tai
20. Tahana
21. Taurere
22. Fao-pore
23. Pa-oaoa
24. Toerau
25. Apuapu (name of trail)
26. Ara-ara-pu'u-pu'u
27. Pererau-fai
28. Anau Village
29. Ta'a-hio
30. Apo'o-fe'e
30a. Tea Tae (trail)
31. Vai-ro
32. Aihau-tai
33. Toru-torea (name for three geological stacks)
34. Fitiu
35. Tuia-hora
36. Ha'a-maire
37. Piti-a'au
38. Te pu-horo
39. Te-puna
40. Te-hura
41. Motu O'oru
42. Vai-pa'a-ro
43. Vai-o-re'a
44. Te-pue
45. Tiare-pauoma
46. Pa'a-tutae
47. Motu-roa
48. Motu Tape
49. Toro-piro (canoe pass)
50. Motu Tupe
51. Apo'o-ma'o
52. Ta'a-raua
53. Vai-toto
54. Otu-oreho
55. Tia-noa
56. Vero-'ia
57. Mata-hua'a
58. Pufu-ia, or Puhia
59. Terao-'oa
60. Otu-o-rau
61. Aua-nape
62. Po'o-rehau
63. Ta'ihi
64. Paepae-pupure
65. Te-marumaru
66. Vahi'a-utu
67. Te-miromiro
68. Te-nanamu
69. Te-miromiro
70. Tuatefa'ao
71. Te-mahu
72. Vai-pi-rari
73. Tia-'ie
74. Fenua-piha
75. Te-vai-pohue
76. Fenua-piha
77. Fa'a-raerae
78. Vai-o'opu
79. Taura-otaha
80. Te-umu-a-ture
81. Te-rurumi
82. Are-'ati
83. To'opai-rai
84. Haru-totara
85. Muri-ete
86. Te-hotu
87. Paharire
88. Pa-pua-a
89. Vai-rupe
90. Uru-maru
91. Apu-to
92. Apo'o-varu
93. Tere-i'a
94. Mahu-to'a
95. Fare-tou
96. Vai-nia
97. Vai-'a-hau
98. Fare-to'a (a marae)
99. Mau'a Popoti
100. Farea-ra'a
101. Papara-ti
102. Motu Oio
103. Fati'a-uru
103a. Fa'a-nui Village
104. Fata-rere
105. Teroma (stream)
106. Te-pare (plateau)
107. Fare-rua, or Fare-piti (Point)
108. Mau-tau
109. Pirio
110. Fa'a-tahi (Fa'a-tahi)
111. Turai-mato, or Pahua
112. Po'o-po'o-ure-roa
113. Fa'a-tohora
114. Havae
115. Pito-rave
116. Motu Tane
117. Pa'ahi
118. Vana-nui
119. Mo-'ute
120. Motu Apiti
121. Vavaere
122. Rauoro
123. Vavarufi
124. Manini
125. Tevai-roa
126. Otu-ohu-hoe
127. Otu-ohu-piti
128. Otu-ohu-toru
129. Motu Ahuna
130. Te-ava-nui (pass)
131. Motu Tapu

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Ruins

Site 221. Marae Vaiotaha, 300 yards from the shore at Ellacott's place near Vaiati (fig. 116).

Location marked by a great square on the French map of 1823 (16, p. 6), where it is given the name "Morai of Taouimata" (Toimata was a sister of King Mai in 1823). The marae has been destroyed; nothing remains but two upright stones, one of basalt 3 feet high, the other of coral and not so high, facing on a roughly paved court which has two slight terraces. The two uprights might be facing stones of an *ahu*, or, as I now believe, uprights in front of an *ahu* which has been removed. Whether the *ahu* was low or high, we have no way of telling from our record. As the ruins of the court occupy a width of only about 42 feet, it would appear that the *ahu* was not any longer than 42 feet and the marae therefore a very small one. The land up to it has been cleared for planting, and many of its stones have been taken for a graveyard near by.

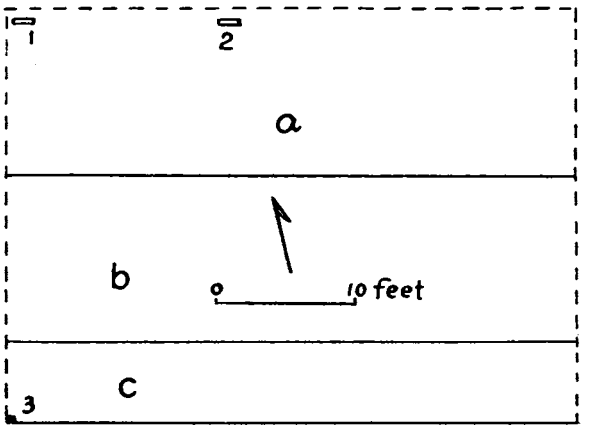

Figure 116.—Marae Vaiotaha at Vaiati (Site 221): *a*, terrace apparently paved with stones and coral and standing 1 foot above *b*; *b*, terrace 1 foot above *c*; *c*, terrace; front of *a*, *b*, and *c* faced with single line of stones embedded in ground, only a few stones remain; 1, coral slab; 2, basalt slab 3 feet high, surface about it slightly elevated above rest of terrace; 3, upright.

Site 222. Marae Marotetini or Farerua on Mautau Point (figs. 117-119).

The largest of Borabora maraes. Its *ahu* is 141 feet long, which is the length of marae Taputapuatea at Opoa. Two post-European tombs of the royal family stand on the inland boundary of the court of marae Farerua. They are evidently constructed of the limestone slabs and other stones of its *ahu* (fig. 119). The southern tomb was pointed out to me as that of King Tapoa; Handy was told that two boxes with bones, a *maro*, and other clothing of the arii were taken out of this tomb years ago to be deposited in a secret cave in the mountain. At least two other such tombs, apparently constructed from the ruins of maraes, lie on the shore between Vaitape Village and this point. The natives are reluctant to go near them. Inland of this marae, I was told by an elderly woman, was a marae called Fare-o-tihi. I believe she was referring to the *fare tii* (image house) of this marae.

Site 223. Marae Fareopu on land Faretoa, Tevaitapu District (fig. 120).

Although the road has been run 15 feet from the inland face of the *ahu* of this

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marae, this face of the *ahu* has suffered comparatively no destruction. About half of the seaward slabs, however, have been removed. It is more than likely that these slabs as well as most of those of the maraes on the west coast of Borabora were commandeered by the missionary, J. M. Orsmond, for material for the long coral jetties built at Vaitape Village. Two of the facing slabs of the inland face are carved with turtle petroglyphs (pl. 20, *A;* fig. 131, *d, e*).

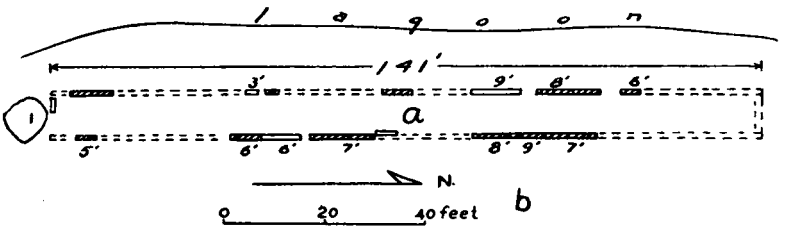
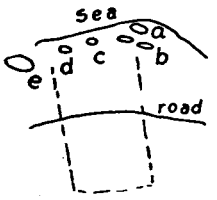


FIGURE 117.—Marae Marotetini or Farerua on Mautau Point (Site 222): *a, ahu* faced with limestone slabs and filled up to a height of 2 to 3 feet with coral and basalt stones, shaded blocks represent fallen slabs, figures 3′, 8′, etc., give heights of slabs; *b,* court strewn with basalt stones which probably formed a rough pavement, low stone wall parallel to the *ahu* but 132 feet from it marks eastern boundary of court; 1, fallen limestone slab 9 feet long, 9 feet wide, and 2 feet thick.

Site 224. Marae Faretoa, at Faretoa, Tevaitapu District.

A few feet north of marae Fareopu are five limestone blocks, 8 inches to 2 feet high, standing in a line parallel to the shore and 20 feet from it. This seems to mark the *ahu* of a marae, and I was told that this was the location of marae Faretoa.

Site 225. Marae Pupure, at Paepaepupure, Hitiaa District. A low stone platform measuring 66 feet along the front and traceable inland a distance of 36 feet, paved with flat basalt blocks.



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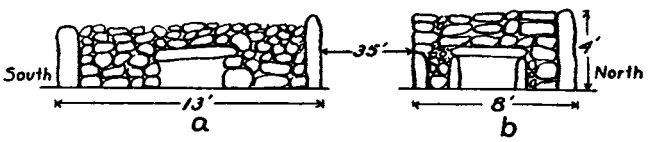

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FIGURE 118.—Sketch plan of marae Farerua (Site 226) made by Tati Salmon in 1899, showing relative position of upright stones purporting to represent the five principal families of Borabora chiefs: *a,* Nioi, Taura, for the chief Puni; *b,* Ruau, for Pa and Vahirua, Ohurehaapa and Taharae; *c,* Vahine-hai-mire, Teuraiterai; *d,* Vaaiti-matatoi; *e,* Teiva.

FIGURE 119.—Cross section of post-European royal tombs at marae Farerua or Marotetini, Farerua Point: *a,* vault 3.5 feet wide, 8 feet long, 2 feet high, lying on the floor was a coffin lid studded with some brass tacks, limestone slabs of outer facing of tomb joined with lime plaster; *b,* vault 3 feet wide, 5.5 feet long, 1.5 feet high.

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Site 226. Marae Farerua or Farepiti, extending out into the water north of Paepaepupure, Hitiaa District.

The *ahu* is 46 feet long, 6 feet wide, 5.5 feet high. About half the facing slabs, all of which are of limestone, are present. The *ahu* stands on the lagoon side of a low platform which projects 6 feet beyond it. The area for 25 feet on the inland side of the *ahu* is paved; the distance for 33 feet farther back is enclosed by a line of stones embedded in the sand. An upright basalt stone, 2 feet high, stands exactly midway between the sides of the court and at the very opposite end from the *ahu*.

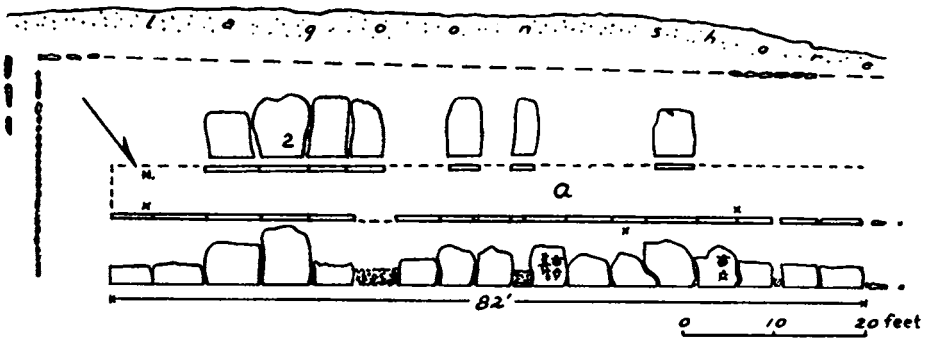
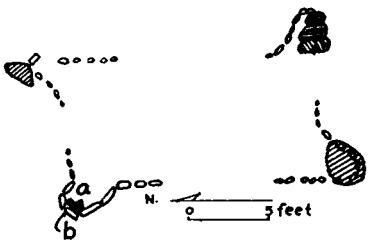


FIGURE 120.—Marae Fareopu at Faretoa (Site 223): *a, ahu* filled to height of 1 to 3 feet with small coral and basalt stones, faced with limestone slabs and set on lagoon end of low platform; slabs shown in profile; two on north face have turtle petroglyphs; 1, wall 1 foot high; 2, slab 7 feet high.

Site 227. Enclosure at Auanape, east coast of Hitiaa District (fig. 121).

Lying parallel to the beach road is an unpaved rectangular enclosure of a line of embedded stones. The corners have the irregular, jutting shape shown in the plan (fig. 121). Set on the corners stood one to three limestone slabs, all but one of which are now fallen. The stones of the sides of the enclosure are basalt dike stones set on edge or on end and ranging from 0.5 to 1 foot high, 1 to 2.5 feet long.



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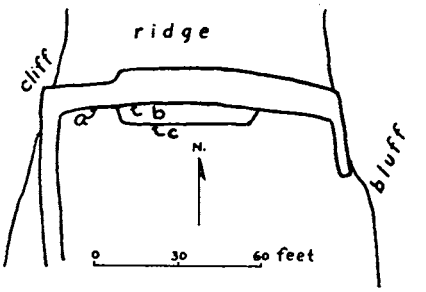

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FIGURE 121.—Corners of enclosure 30 by 75 feet of stones embedded on edge (Site 227), shaded ovals are fallen limestone slabs: 1, two basalt uprights; 2, coral slab standing on edge; all other stones basaltic.

FIGURE 122.—Sketch plan of stone wall fortification (Site 235): *a*, 7 feet high; *b*, 4 feet high; *c*, 3 feet high.

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Site 228. Marae Nonohaura, on land Vairo, Anau District (fig. 123).

One of the two best-preserved maraes on the island. The slabs were originally fitted tightly together, the curve of one side of one slab fitting snugly a concavity of the side of the adjoining slab. The marae stands on the end of a low, flat ridge and a quarter of a mile from the shore. A few human bones were seen lying on the fill of the *ahu*.

Site 229. Marae, shore of south side of Anau Bay.

The *ahu* is 78 feet long, 6 feet wide, and lies with its long axis 20 degrees east of north. It is faced with limestone slabs not more than 2.5 feet high and 3 feet wide. The area adjoining the west or inland side of the *ahu*, out for a distance of 9 feet, is enclosed with a line of small stones embedded in the ground.

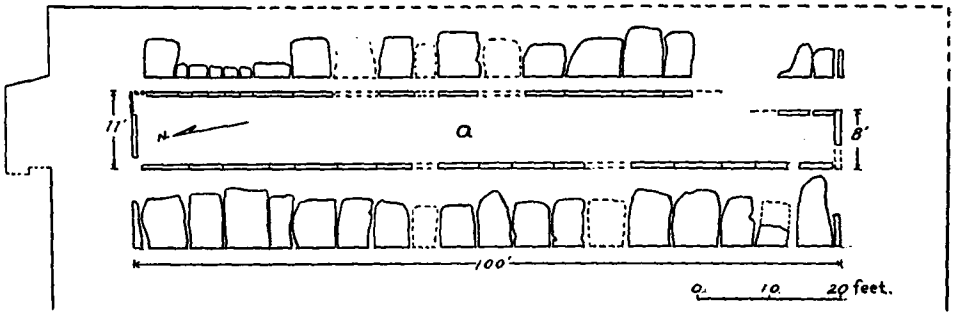

FIGURE 123.—Plan and side elevations of marae Nonohaura at Vairo, Anau (Site 228): *a*, *ahu* faced with cut and fitted limestone slabs and filled to height of 2 to 4 feet with small basalt stones; outlines of the slabs drawn to scale, fallen slabs represented as standing (4 slabs fallen on west face and 5 or 6 on east face); *ahu* rests on seaward end of low earth platform 126 feet wide along front, 1 to 3 feet high, faced with basalt stones.

Site 230. Marae Manunu, at the very head of Anau Bay.

The *ahu*, which is 51 feet long, 5 feet wide, 3.5 feet high, stands on sandy, level ground. The facing slabs are of limestone. The long axis of the *ahu* lies 20 degrees east of north. Traces of a pavement appear on the inland side of the *ahu*.

Site 231. Marae between marae Manunu and the next marae north, Fareura, Anau District. The *ahu*, which is 75 feet long, lies in a long, shapeless heap.

Site 232. Marae Fareura, on the shore, Anau District.

The *ahu*, 44 feet long, 6 feet wide, stands 10 feet from the shore and parallel to it. It is faced with limestone slabs not more than 3 feet high. Many slabs are missing. The long axis of the *ahu* lies due east and west. Adjoining the inland face of the *ahu* is a pavement of rough basalt stones which extends back 39 feet.

Site 233. Marae, north shore of Anau Bay.

A few limestone slabs of an *ahu*, 69 feet long, 6 feet wide, mark the site of this marae 20 feet from the water's edge. The slabs are not more than 2 feet high, and a single slab closes each end. The *ahu* lies approximately north and south.

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Site 234. Marae Tamaruteaoa, on land Aihautai, Anau District (fig. 124; pl. 16, *B*). The best-preserved of Borabora maraes. It lies close enough to the lagoon waters to be reached by high tide. A copra plantation now encroaches upon the court.

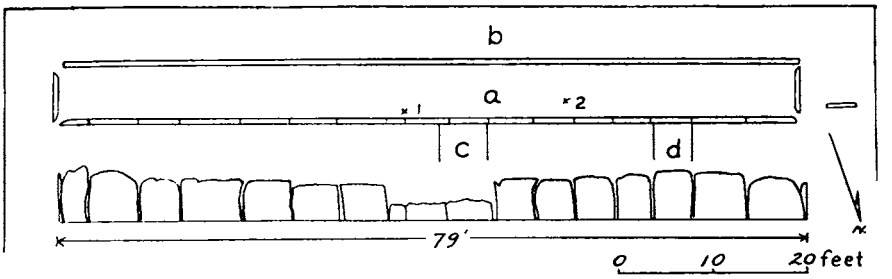

FIGURE 124.—Marae Tamaruteaoa on land Aihautai, Anau (Site 234): *a, ahu* faced entirely with limestone slabs (pl. 16, *B*), all of which are present, outlines of slabs on north face are given drawn to scale, *ahu* filled almost to top with small coral and basalt stones; *b*, front part of low platform 1.5 feet high, paved on this side with basalt flagstones 1 to 1.5 feet in diameter, front faced with bottom course of large basalt stones and second course of smaller stones; *c, d*, platforms or flat walls 1 foot high extending 10 feet or more; *x*, places where fragments of human bones were seen.

Site 235. Fortification named Pa-tahi, at Tepare, on the ridge dividing Anau District from Tiipoto District and south of the path, Teatae, leading from one to the other (fig. 122).

A thick, high, steep, loosely built wall has been erected across the ridge blocking the approach to that part of it which widens toward the south. A narrow platform runs along the inner side of the front wall, evidently a standing platform and probably for riflemen. Tyerman (56, vol. 2, p. 21) visited two forts on Borabora:

"Upon the great mountain of Paia, . . . rude fortresses built on the least accessible slopes of the hills, and enclosing considerable spaces of the surface, intersected with strong walls, which served not merely as fences, but supplied ammunition wherewith to annoy an ascending enemy. These belonged to the two kings of the island; that on the south to Mai, and that on the north to Tefaaora. They were separated only by a footpath, and extended along the rocky ridge of the mountain. Each pari is about half a mile in length, and furnishes a curious specimen of rough but effectual fortification, suited to the circumstances of the ground, and the modes of warfare formerly existing among the people. Within the enclosures are breadfruit, coconut, plantain, vi-apple, and other trees, to supply provisions, with water springs, on which a besieged garrison might subsist for months; so that it would be as difficult for their assailants to starve them into surrender as to storm their lines. In one place was the wreck of an old canoe, built in the last war, and laid there to appease the anger of some god."

Site 236. Petroglyph boulders at Vaiati.

Among numerous boulders on this land, about a quarter of a mile inland, there are two which are carved. The first is on the east bank of Vaiati brook and 30 feet from it. Two faces are carved with the petroglyphs shown in figure 131, *a, c*, and plate 20, *B*. The second petroglyph boulder is 150 yards northwest of the first and on the opposite side of the brook, 15 feet from it. The carved south face is shown in figure 131, *b*.

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The first boulder, called *ofai honu* (turtle stone), is the mythical parent of the island and of the island's chiefs. This stone is supposed to have slept with the cliff Hohoi-rai, which is the cliff of Mount Paia, and from their union Vavau was born (25).

MAUPITI

Place Names

The map of Maupiti (fig. 125) shows place names and location of some of the maraes. The place names are from native informants and the French map of 1823 (16, pl. 7):

1. Hotuparaoa, or Hutuparaoa Bluff
2. Terama Peak
3. Tapoa Village
4. Hutuariritea Peak
5. Farauuru
6. Ureureoiha Peak
7. Teremu Peak
8. Maua Farefare
9. Paetaha. The region in the vicinity is denominated Paiuma on the French map, 1823.
10. Tauwaa (pronounced Kauwaa), or Farii Hill
11. Haranai
12. Pohiva
13. Anutaea (pronounced Anukaea)
14. Taiaeaha
15. Tepouohu
16. Hotutavaeroa or Hututavaeroa
17. Urufaatiu, highest peak on the island. The old name is Teurataha
18. Maua Po
19. Putua Hill
20. Tapele
21. Faatauhi Hill
22. Havai
23. Nuupure marae
24. Tirianoo Peak
25. Vaipahu (pronounced Wai-pahu)
26. Haamarumaru
27. Piaitu
28. Vaimariri Hill
29. Puuroo
30. Taharai Hill
31. Pahihirohiro, a rock, on the French map called Tereiavarua
32. Teaua, a rock. This or a neighboring rock was pointed out to me as Tuturaporeho
33. Teanaotemoo
34. Maoatea and Maoaterauri, two great rocks at the water's edge representing brothers, that on the west the older
35. Aano, a large rock on the beach
36. Tehotupuwaiwai, ridge dividing Faanoa from Taatoi
37. Vaihahau
38. Vanaroa
39. Teheva
40. Farepaia
41. Peao
42. Motu Aie
43. Motu Ahi
44. Tarahu-Apouhi
45. Faretea
46. Vaiotaha

Ruins

Duperrey shows 16 maraes on his excellent map (16, pl. 7) made in 1823, and assigns to one of them on the north side of the island the name Nuupere (Nuupure). The name of another Maupiti marae, to which an ancestor of King Mai of Borabora belonged, was Teahutapu (32, p. 260). Tyerman (56, vol. 2, p. 13) must have been misinformed when he was told that there were no less than 220 maraes on Maupiti. An exhaustive inquiry has netted the names of only 35 maraes. Handy and I saw the remains of 10 or 11, all in a very poor state of preservation. Most of them consisted of a rectangular pavement extending out from the shore. The platforms were mainly or entirely basalt stones. The *ahu* were faced with limestone slabs about 3 feet high and standing on the lagoon end of the platform. The platforms were neatly paved with basalt flagstones.

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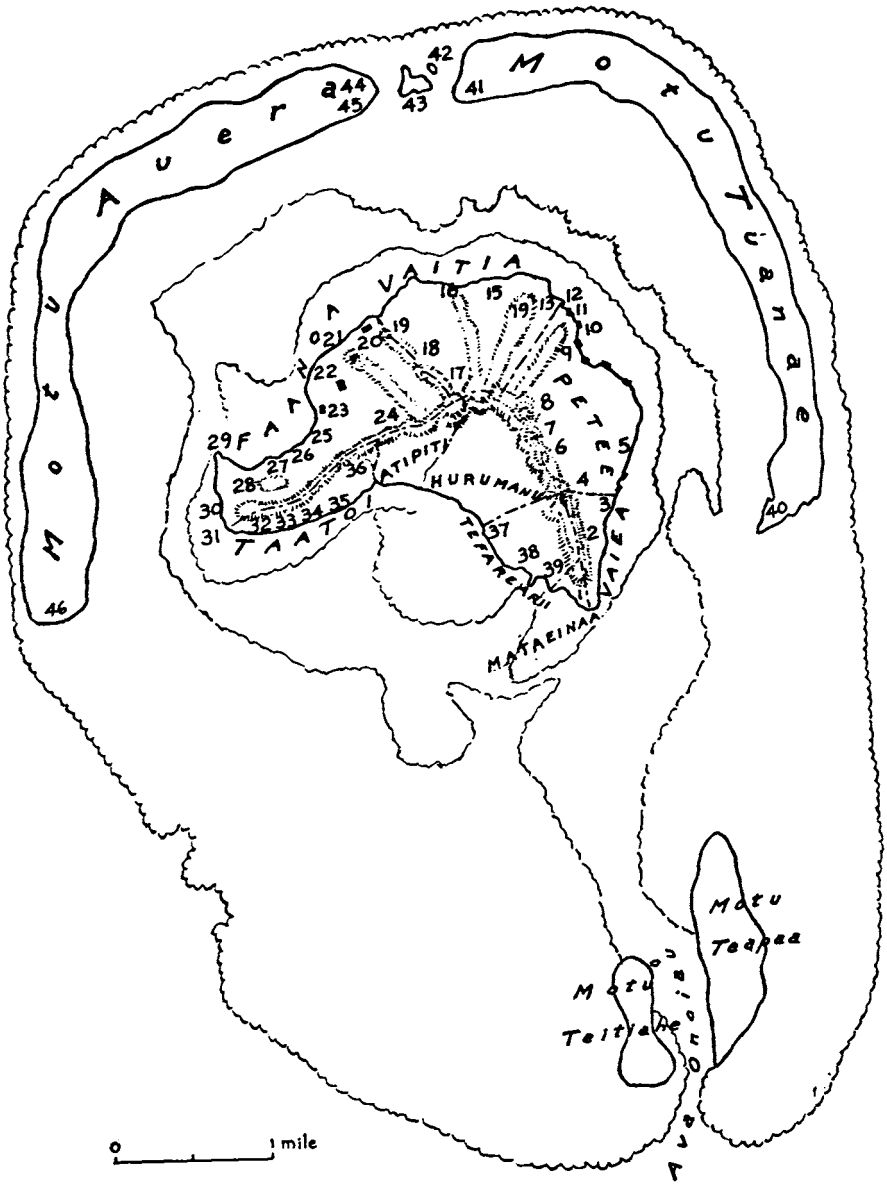

FIGURE 125.—Map of Maupiti. Names of districts are from native informants; numbers refer to place names (p. 167).

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Site 237. Marae Vaiahu, Tefarearii District (fig. 126).

A platform of basalt dike stones built out to low tide mark on the lagoon. Its height ranges from 1 to 4 feet. Across the lagoon end of the platform is a line of three or four limestone slabs on edge, undoubtedly marking the inland face of an *ahu*. In a vault (fig. 126, *b*), it is said, until recently the fishing gods were put at times of fishing. For the setting of the marae in relation to the chief's house, the original marae Teparoa, the marae Peetau, the canoe jetty, the two maraes next to it, and to the assembly ground, see Handy's plan (29, fig. 12) of Tefarerii. Record by Handy.

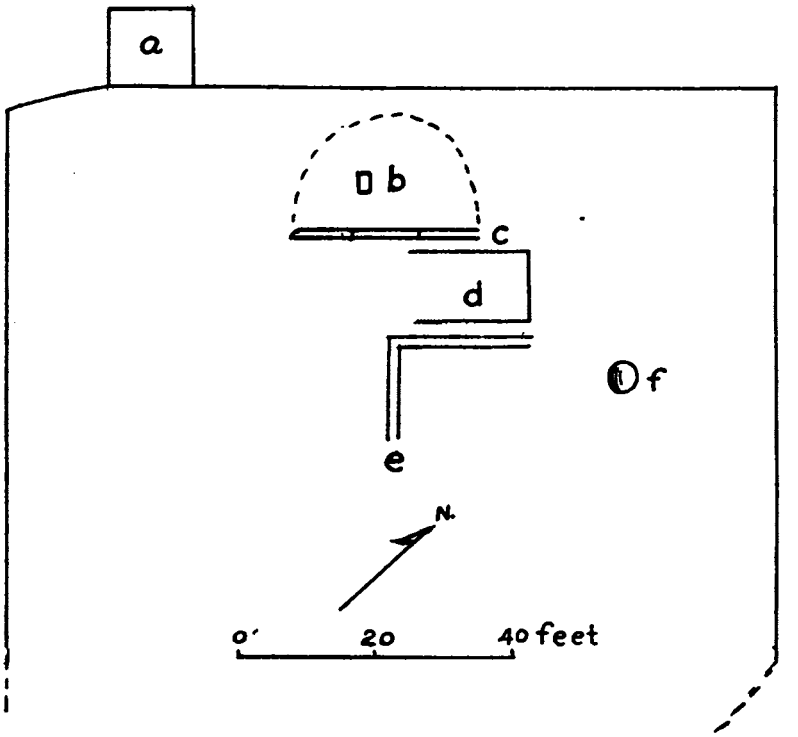

FIGURE 126.—Marae Vaiahu (Site 237), platform built of natural basalt blocks: *a*, extension recently built; *b*, vault lined with limestone slabs about 2 feet deep, 3 feet long, 2 feet wide, now empty, spot elevated above general level of platform indicating that vault was embedded in fill of *ahu*; *c*, three or four limestone slabs on edge marking inner face of *ahu*; *d*, slightly depressed area finely paved with pebbles; *e*, small wall; *f*, pit 4 feet deep, 4 feet in diameter, lined with rough stone; human leg, collar, and thigh bones as well as pig jaws and teeth lay in bottom of pit.

Site 238. A *pa* (fortification) on the east slope of Terama Peak, at the base of a bluff overlooking Vaiea Village (fig. 127), and rock named Tumupuaa.

The *pa* consists of a loosely built wall enclosing an area of steeply sloping ground, 12 to 54 feet wide, 135 feet long. At one of the outer corners of the wall is a platform built up flush with the top of the enclosure.

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On the opposite side of Terama Peak and resting on the slope above the bluffs of Tefarearii District is the great rock named Tumupuaa. In its shelter and round about it are the remains of native ovens, probably used by the refugees of the fort. On the west side of the rock is a house terrace, 30 feet long, 15 feet wide, 3 feet high along the front. It is faced with stones loosely laid up and filled with earth and small stones. Below this is another similar house terrace, 24 feet long, 15 feet wide.

Site 239. Three petroglyph boulders at Haranai, in a stream bed of a ravine north of Vaiea Village. The principal carving on two of these stones is shown in figure 130, *b;* the carvings on the third boulder, in figure 129, *c*. Record by Handy.

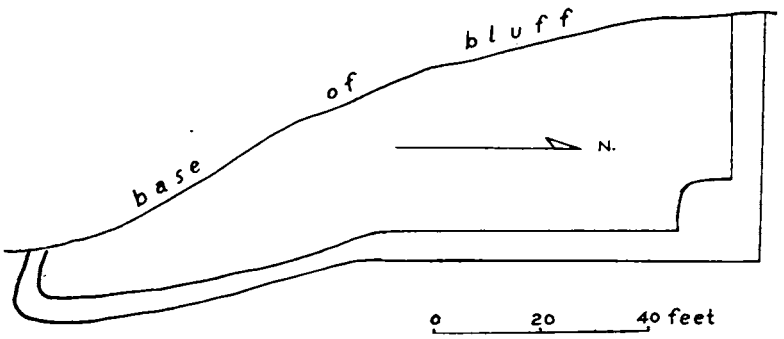

FIGURE 127.—Plan of fortification at base of east bluff of Terama Peak (Site 238), northeast corner is 6 feet high on outside.

Site 240. Tomb on the northeast coast, just seaward of the road, 50 yards from the shore.

The ruin consists of six or seven limestone slabs about 3 feet high set on edge and forming an enclosure 6 feet square partitioned across the middle by a single slab. The natives pointed it out as a burial place and strictly avoided approaching near it.

I have a list of the names of some maraes of Maupiti, communicated to me in 1930 by my esteemed friend, Monsieur André Ropiteau, who made inquiries while visiting the island in that year:

1. Marae Vaiahu, dedicated to Hiro.
2. Marae Tehutu, belonging to Tauruahaamoehau.
3. Marae Faretai, belonging to Vahu-tai-nui.
4. Marae Faaete, belonging to Teiatua-i-te-pu-maroura.
5. Marae Hamau, belonging to Mauate-amoatua.
6. Marae Toahihia, belonging to Ope-i-te-ara-uroa.
7. Marae Rai-faairi, belonging to Manu-tahi-i-te-rauava.
8. Marae ? belonging to Puahi-i-te-papa-i-uruvaa.
9. Marae Tetooarai, belonging to Terii-re-i-te-vaa-taunoa.

Henry (32, p. 129) says that the chief deities presiding over Vaiahu were Tu and Taaroa; de Bovis (7, p. 44) gives the god as Tuu-i-vahiau (Tu-i-

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Vaiahu). To this list I can add from an old manuscript of lands belonging to the Mai family of Borabora, these two maraes: Marae Te-tai-farii on the land Atipau, Taatoi District; Marae Tau, Taatoi or Atipiti District.

In 1932 Monsieur Ropiteau again visited Maupiti and secured a list of 23 additional maraes, which list, together with some very valuable notes, he has published in the bulletin of the Société des Études Océanienne (47, pp. 120-129). The additional maraes are:

Ahiti-rai, at Ahiti-rai
Ahunee, at Hutuae
Ati-pae, at Ati-pae, inland
Faahei, at Faahei
Fare-miro, at Fare-miro
Farerua, or Pihaetohora, at Patito
Harumaruma, at Tatoi
Manutahi, at Manutahi
Maraamea, at Maupai
Nuupure, at Farefau
Otu, at Taurere
Patu-poia, at Mahui
Pihaetohora, or Farerua, at Patio
Poura, at Ati-faaroa
Rai-mae, at Ati-faaroa
Rai-vanaa, at Faretupa
Te-ahu-tapu, at Apapaterai (inland)
Te-faataea, at Atipiti
Tereva, at Tereva, inland
Tetooarai, at Hurumanu
Tiahihia, at Atipiti
Vaehaa, at Te-pae-arioi
A marae near marae Otu
A marae at Vaimoo

PETROGLYPHS

DESCRIPTION

A number of petroglyphs have been discovered on Tahiti, Huahine, Raiatea, Borabora, and Maupiti. In Tahiti the petroglyphs are on large boulders, and in the Leeward Islands, on the slabs of maraes as well. That they are not common is certain. Nevertheless, the wide distribution of those which have been found, their uniformity and conventionality, prove that the making of petroglyphs was a well-established practice.

The carving of petroglyphs on marae slabs and such motives as are found on them—the turtle, which predominates, concentric circles, circle and dot, and canoe—may be placed within the period of historical inhabitants, but there is no way of dating the figures on boulders not associated with maraes. The tradition collected in 1926, which claims that the human figures on a boulder at Tipaerui, Tahiti (Site 6), were carved in memory of the wife and twin children of one Tataurii who had taken refuge in Tipaerui has too much the ring of a local legend rationalized to fit the carving to be taken literally. Yet no very great age can be ascribed to this well-delineated carving on a flat rock in a steep brook bed where erosion is going on at a rapid rate.

Most petroglyphs are wrought by pecking broad, rather deep grooves. A few of the grooves are so broad and shallow as to lift the spaces between into low relief and shift the attention from the outline to the body of the figure. I doubt that the artist aimed at producing this effect, as it is only perfect in two figures (fig. 130, *d*, nos. 3, 4) on rough limestone slabs where narrow

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lines would have been lost. The figures on the cornerstone of the chief's house platform at Tevaitoa (pl. 19, *B*) are sharply incised.

Human and turtle figures, concentric circles, representations of masks and headdresses, are the motives employed in Tahiti. The Leeward Islands add canoes and simple circles to these figures.

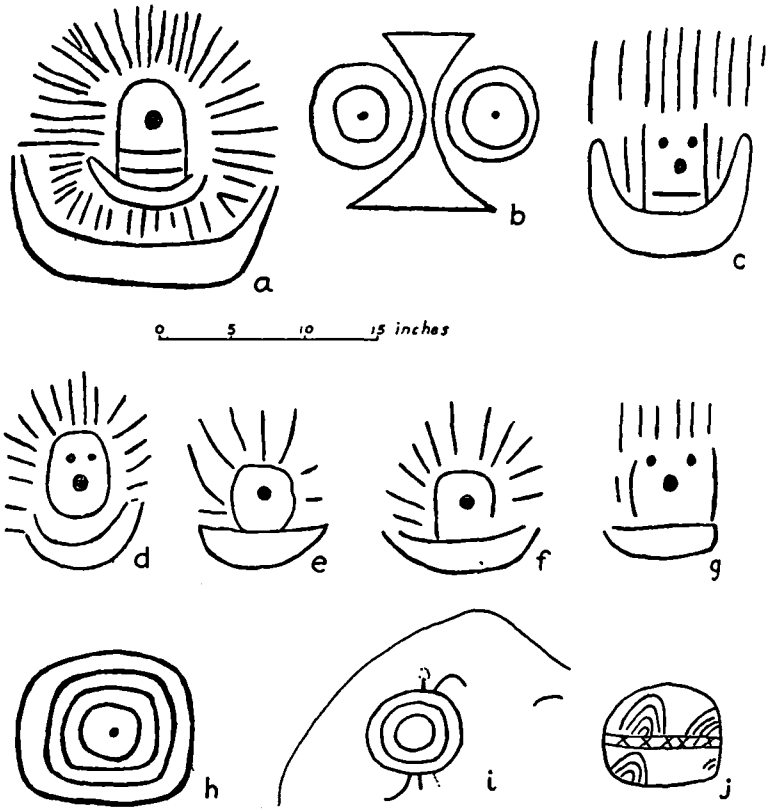

FIGURE 128.—Petroglyphs: *a, c-g,* at Vaiote, Tautira (Site 48); *b,* on easternmost boulder 12 feet in diameter, Faaa (Site 10); *h-i,* on boulders behind schoolhouse at Arue; *h,* single petroglyph 15 inches in diameter, on northwest face of middle boulder; *j,* decorative incisions on coconut shell plaque sewed on apron of mourner's costume from Tahiti (British Museum), diameter 1 inch.

Among all the petroglyphs in the Leeward Islands, only one is of human form (fig. 130, *b*). In this the body is outlined by a triangle and the legs are formed by a double line. The petroglyphs at Tipaerui, Tahiti, are nearly all of human form. There are several simple linear figures (fig. 129, *a*), but the two most conspicuous petroglyphs (fig. 129, *b;* pl. 19, *A*) have limbs and the sides of the body represented by double grooves. One of these has two heads, the left one located centrally on the body. Appended to the body are

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two symbols which might be interpreted as representing the male and female sexual organs, or the male and the placenta.

Most of the turtle figures are simple outlines, but some have on their backs conventional markings. In these the cross predominates, and the circle, or concentric circles, or a combination of cross and circle, are used. A median vertical line crossed by two or more horizontal lines may represent the division of the shell into plaques, but the designs so individualize the turtles as to convey the impression that they indicate specific kinds of turtles or are symbols appropriated by individuals. However, there may be behind this decoration only a desire to fill the empty space.

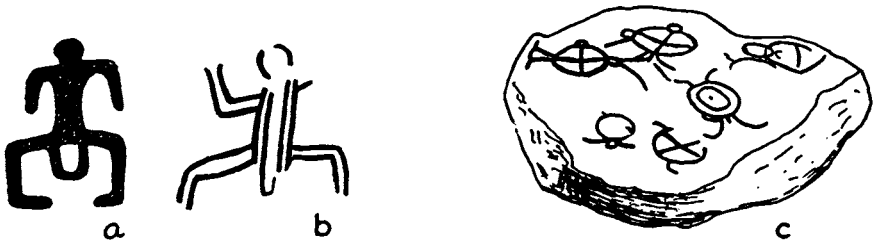

FIGURE 129.—Petroglyphs: *a-b*, at Tipaerui (Site 6), each 16 inches high; *c*, on boulder at Vaiea, Maupiti, from photo by E. S. C. Handy.

Plain circle petroglyphs are rare. Plain circles with a dot in the middle, or a circle within a circle, are more common. Series of concentric circles running up to four and usually with a dot in the middle are also frequently found.

Canoe petroglyphs were discovered solely on three adjoining slabs of the seaward face of the *ahu* of marae Rauhuru at Maeva, Huahine (fig. 130). The four canoes on these slabs taper slightly upward at each end after the manner of the Society Islands war canoe. Resting toward one end of two of the canoes is a rectangle which suggests remotely the little house standing on the forward part of double traveling canoes or the fighting platform of war canoes. A young native spectator exclaimed, "Look at the smoke stacks!" But the native aversion to handling these marae slabs, as well as the weathered appearance of the grooves, argues against the modernity of the carving.

The supposition that certain figures on Tahiti, Raiatea, Borabora, and Maupiti (fig. 128, *a-g;* 130, *b;* 131, *a*) represent headdresses rests on their resemblance to pyrogravures on a bamboo quiver from the Society Islands in the British Museum (fig. 133) which unmistakably represent a type of headdress common in the Society Islands as part of the chief mourner's costume. It will be seen, if the headdress as figured by Webber (13, vol. 3, p. 230), the pyrogravure (fig. 133), and the Raiatean petroglyph (pl. 19, *B*) are com-

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pared, that the resemblance of the petroglyph to the headdress and to the pyrogravure is too striking and detailed to be accidental. Elsewhere (22) I have analyzed this petroglyph and fully set forth its correspondence to this type of headdress. In brief, the radiating lines of the petroglyph apparently represent the slender tail feathers of the tropic bird; the upper, vertical part of the figure represents the frontal piece of pearl shell; the curved base represents the breast plate; the ovals bristling with spines at each end of the breast plate represent the pearl shells fringed with feathers; and the whole main outline of the figure represents the hood draped over the head and shoulders.

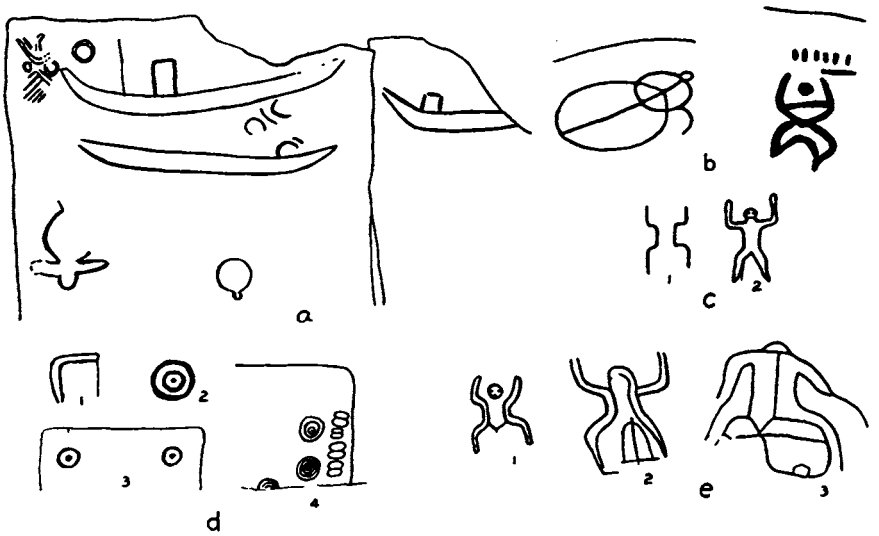

FIGURE 130.—Tahitian, Pitcairn, and Marquesan petroglyphs: *a*, on two adjoining facing slabs of marae Rauhuru (Site 120), Maeva, canoes on left are each 20 inches long; *b*, on two different boulders at Vaiea, Maupiti, from photo by E. S. C. Handy; *c*, Pitcairn petroglyphs, after Seurat (52); *d*, on slabs of maraes of Huahine; 1, chevron design, 15 inches high, on slab of marae Manunu; 2, single petroglyph, 5 inches in diameter, on a slab of marae Fareie, Maeva; 3, two circles in partial relief on slab of marae Anini; 4, outline of four pairs of ovals and three series of concentric circles (the largest 13 inches in diameter) in partial relief on a slab of marae Anini; *e*, at Teueto, Tahauku, Hivaoa, Marquesas, from photo by Ralph Linton.

A petroglyph on Borabora (fig. 131, *a*) with nine or ten vertical parallel lines on a rectangular base, tastefully embellished with a central circle and a semicircle in each corner, suggests the frontlet of the Austral Islands headdress (one in Peabody Museum, Harvard University, another in Cambridge University Museum, England) bearing a row of upright tropic bird feathers. A petroglyph on a different part of the same rock (pl. 20, *B*), with vertical, parallel lines, obviously also represents a headdress. The vertical lines rising

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from a horizontal line over a small human figure on Maupiti (fig. 130, *b*) may stand for a headdress of the same type. Petroglyphs at Vaiote, Tautira (fig. 128, *a, c-h;* Site 48) are, similarly, representations of masks and headdresses.

That the use of concentric semicircles, as on the "headdress" petroglyph of Borabora, is not foreign to historic Tahitian art is witnessed by the carving on one of the little incised coconut shell disks (fig. 128, *j*) tied to the apron of the mourner's costume in the British Museum.

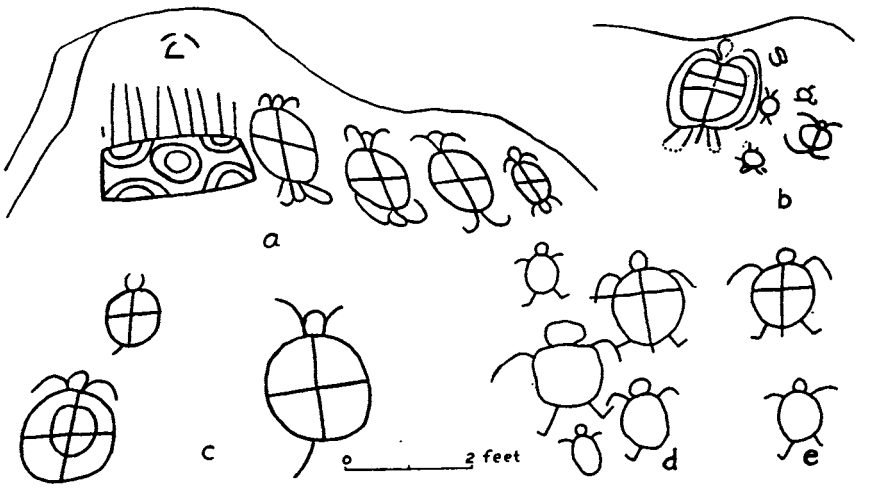

FIGURE 131.—Borabora petroglyphs: *a, c,* boulder, east bank of Vaiati brook, *a,* south face, *c,* west face; *b,* boulder, west bank of Vaiati, south face (Site 236); *d-e,* groups on two slabs of marae Fareopu (fig. 120).

MEANING

None of the groups of petroglyphs in the Society Islands are organized to portray an event or to form a decorative ensemble. They are individual figures added one after the other by the same or different artists without regard to the figures already carved.

The turtle figure predominates among the petroglyphs. The turtle, writes Henry (32, p. 384), was the shadow of the gods of the ocean. It was a choice food held sacred to the gods and eaten only by chiefs and marae keepers (32, p. 381). Maraes dedicated to Oro were distinguished from all others (32, p. 132) by stones "shaped like turtles' heads and set at regular distances along the sides of the construction."

At one marae in Faaa District, Tahiti (Site 9), whose enclosing walls and *ahu* were faced entirely with worked stones, were found four stones encircled

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at one end with a groove. One of these was in place as a first-course stone of the inner facing of the court wall (fig. 18, *a, d*); from the proximity of the others, presumably they were also placed in the wall. These may be the stones to which Henry is referring, as there is something of the suggestion of a turtle's head in the form of the end encircled by a groove. However that may be, in the Leeward Islands the *ahu* of the maraes are faced with slabs and there are no enclosing walls, and the turtle could, therefore, not be represented in the same way. It is quite possible that this idea of embellishing a marae with representations of the turtle as the representation of Oro was carried out in the Leeward Islands by the turtle petroglyphs on one or several of the slabs of a number of the maraes. These petroglyphs, then, would be sacred symbols. It is difficult to think of them as being drawn in the spirit of decorative art, for they are only scattered here and there or placed haphazard on one slab. At the same time, some idea of embellishment would seem to be present.

Next to turtle figures, circles and concentric circles are the most common and widespread. It is obvious in the Faaa petroglyph (fig. 128, *b*) that the concentric circles and dot in the middle represent the eyes of a face. Concentric circles on marae slabs of Huahine, on the other hand, seem to represent turtles, for some of these are embellished with the head and flippers of a turtle. The natives of Hawaii told Ellis (17, vol. 4, p. 459) that in the concentric circles with a dot or mark in the center which they saw carved on lava flows the dot signified a man and the number of rings denoted the number in the party who had circumambulated the island. Concentric circles painted on an Austral Islands tapa in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, are edged with small triangles suggesting the rays of the sun, but the eyes of human figures carved on their paddles and spears have exactly the same outline, and a wooden figure from Raivavae, in the British Museum, has this identical design representing the navel. The flat under surface of a ridgepole on exhibition in the Papeete Museum, Tahiti, is ornamented with a row of these Austral Islands motives. It is certain, therefore, that though not all concentric circles represented the same thing, as the human eye, the sun, or the turtle, some of them were used to represent these things.

The ceremonial "headdress" petroglyphs on Raiatea, Borabora, and Tahiti may have functioned to represent magically the continued presence, surveillance, or influence of a chief mourner. The human figure at Tipaerui, Tahiti, attempts to represent something symbolically, for it is not realistic and it is not an idle scrawl. But it would be a mistake to attach symbolic significance to all Society Islands petroglyphs.

As in Hawaii (21, p. 120, figs. 17, 20), the Marquesas (39, pp. 96-99), New Zealand (28), and New Caledonia (41), in the Society Islands common petroglyph forms appear also as motives in burnt decorations or in tattooing,

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or both. Among the other motives burnt into the Tahitian bamboo quiver with the headdress motive are turtles (fig. 133), represented in much the same way as in some of the petroglyphs. Ellis (17, vol. 1, pp. 262-266) says that circles, goats, dogs, fowl, fish, clubs, spears, and men engaged in battle and manual exercise were tattooed on the natives, and that, though some of the figures were probably invested with special meaning, they were adopted by the majority of the natives merely for decoration. In Wilson's painting (40, vol. 1, p. 140) of a group of distinguished natives at Matavai, Tahiti, in 1797, Tahitian tattooing is clearly illustrated. On the left hip of one native are tattooed an outer circle of dots with three concentric circles, a common petroglyph motive.

As petroglyphs in Polynesia are thus also decorative motives they may be classified as "artistic manifestations," to borrow a term from Luquet's study of New Caledonian petroglyphs (41, p. 54); what he concludes about them seems to apply in large measure to the Polynesian carvings. He says, "The figures were evidently not intended to decorate the surface on which they are drawn and which simply served the purpose which a piece of paper would with us." Therefore he sets them up as "independent art" to distinguish them from "decorative art." I would say of the petroglyphs in the Society Islands that some of them may have been carved with the idea of embellishment and some probably as symbols, but that in the main they are simply the record of rudimentary artistic impulses.

COMPARISONS

Petroglyphs have been discovered in Hawaii, Christmas Island, the Marquesas, Tonga, Society Islands, Pitcairn (52), Austral Islands, Easter Island, Chatham Island, and New Zealand, so that the incising or pecking of figures on stone is almost universal in Polynesia. Samoa is a notable exception, for not a single carving has been found there in spite of inquiry and searching by Dr. P. H. Buck and others. Likewise Mr. E. G. Burrows could learn in 1932 of none in Wallis or Futuna. They are rare in Tonga and Fiji. The practice of making petroglyphs, therefore, seems a trait belonging rather to distal (with reference to Asia) Polynesia, than to proximal Polynesia (Samoa, Niue, Tonga, Wallis, and Futuna).

Petroglyphs found to any extensive degree throughout Polynesia (as the linear human figure, concentric circles, bird and turtle figures) are exceedingly simple and appear sporadically throughout the world. Little reliance can be put on them as constituting in themselves a proof of cultural contact. Even in the more elaborate figures possibilities of correspondence through coincidence are great. For example, the unique cross and Y markings on the body of the turtle (fig. 132, *g*) are exactly paralleled on the body of a human petroglyph in Brazil (34, fig. 5). Masks, ceremonial costumes, and head-

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dresses are also represented by Brazilian petroglyphs (34, p. 54), and I have seen them somewhere represented in petroglyphs in the West Indies. Yet these considerations do not leave the petroglyphs without value in pointing out cultural contact; they only warn against exaggerating the significance of identical forms.

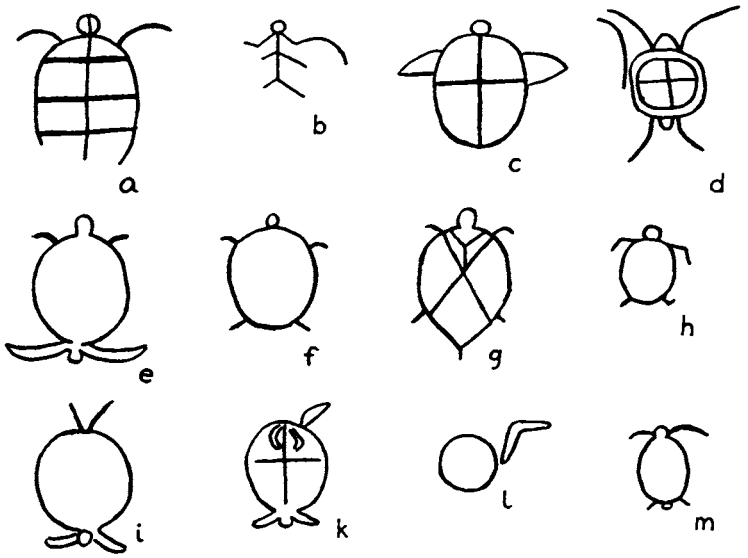

FIGURE 132.—Leeward Islands turtle petroglyphs: *a-c*, on facing stones of ancient chief's house platform at Tevaitoa, Raiatea, sketched by W. C. Handy, *a*, 15 inches long; *d*, on slab of marae Manunu, Maeva, Huahine, 12.5 inches wide; *e-h*, on one slab of marae Tainuu, Tevaitoa, Raiatea; *i-k*, on slab of marae Rauhuru, Maeva, Huahine; *l*, circle 7 inches in diameter on end slab of marae Manunu, Huahine; *m*, single figure on slab of Anini marae, Huahine, length 8 inches.

The representation of the human form in Polynesia by pecking two parallel lines for the limbs and the sides of the body has been discovered at only one group of petroglyphs in the Marquesas and one group in the Society Islands. The correspondence in other respects between these two groups is so detailed as to make tenable the hypothesis that the people who made both groups belonged to the same school. Whether these not un-Polynesian petroglyphs belong to the historic Marquesan and Tahitian cultures is a question. Linton (39, pp. 98, 149) says of the Marquesan group of figures: "Most of them differ sharply from any others observed in the Marquesas Islands. . . . The smoothly curved contours of the limbs are decidedly at variance with the art canons of the historic natives." Likewise, the Tahitian group of petroglyphs differs from all others seen in the Society Islands and is at variance with the little which has survived of Tahitian art.

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The Society Islands turtle petroglyphs marked with a cross, or crosses, or concentric circles, are a specialized form which would be indicative of Society Islands contact if found on other islands in Polynesia. But they and the headdress petroglyphs have not been reported elsewhere and hence rest in the category of local evolutions.

The simple turtle figure appears in Hawaii (21, fig. 19, pls. 7, *C*, 8, *A*), though rarely. A similar turtle petroglyph in the New Hebrides is illustrated by MacMillan Brown (8, p. 100).

Three canoe figures on Lanai in Hawaii (21, fig. 19, pl. 7, *G*) are remarkable in having the same upward-tapering ends as the Huahine canoe petroglyphs, a feature of historic Society Islands war canoes and one which, the Lanai petroglyphs would indicate, was at one time present in the Hawaiian canoes. The canoe petroglyphs in New Zealand (28) picture a local type of canoe and therefore need not have had any connection, beyond a common practice of copying familiar objects, with the figures of canoes cut on the slabs of a Huahine marae. Besides, the Huahine petroglyphs were probably carved long after the Maoris left.

The New Zealand canoe figures are ornamented with spirals, and isolated spirals appear among them. Elsewhere in Polynesia there have been found no spiral petroglyphs from which to derive the New Zealand ones, but of course such a motive can be carried as a tattoo or wood carving design and be converted into a petroglyph at any time. Nevertheless, if the spiral was a common decorative motive as it was in New Zealand we should expect to find it somewhere among the numerous circle and concentric circle petroglyphs of Tahiti, the Marquesas, and Hawaii. The spiral petroglyph appears in the New Hebrides (41).

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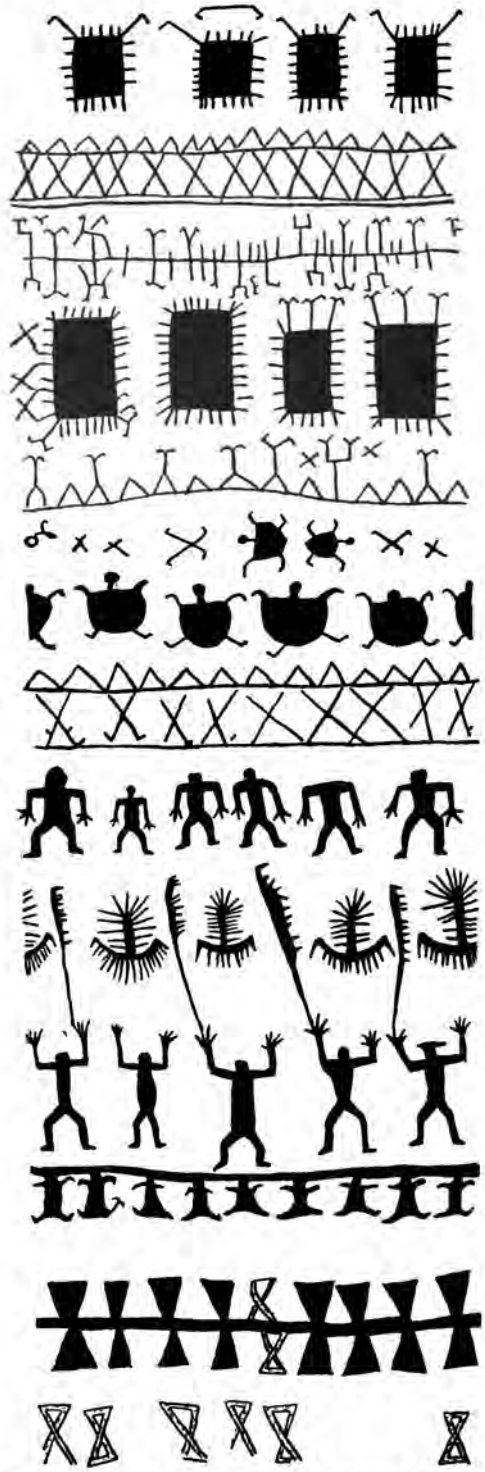

FIGURE 133.—Band of pyrogravures on bamboo quiver from Tahiti (British Museum), band 2 inches wide. From a rubbing.

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A

B

INLAND MARAES OF PAPENOO VALLEY, TAHITI: *A*, PLATFORM (*AHU*) AT ONE END OF PAVED COURT OF MARAE AT IEIEFAATAUTAU (SITE 76); *B*, SHRINE AT PUTOURA (SITE 75).

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A

B

STONEWORK OF INLAND MARAES, TAHITI: *A*, CORNER OF ENCLOSURE AT MARAE TEUA, OROFERE VALLEY (SITE 25), PHOTO BY E. S. C. HANDY; *B*, TOP OF WALL OF ENCLOSURE ADJOINING A MARAE AT URUFARO, TETAMANU PLATEAU (SITE 18).

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A

B

MOOREA MARAES INTERMEDIATE IN TYPE BETWEEN THE COASTAL AND INLAND MARAES: *A*, MARAE TERORO, AFAREAITU (SITE 95). VIEW FROM EAST; *B*, MARAE TEPO, HAAPITI (SITE 90), CENTRAL UPRIGHT (HEIGHT, 37 INCHES) AGAINST FACE OF *AHU*.

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A

B

STONEWORK OF TAHITIAN MARAES, MARAE-TAATA (SITE 20): *A*, OUTER FACING OF COURT WALL, IN WHICH THE UPPER COURSES HAVE FALLEN AWAY REVEALING THE ROUGH INNER FACING, WEST WALL OF CENTRAL MARAE; *B*, WALL OF MARAE OF COASTAL TYPE OVERLAPPING CORNER OF COURT WALL OF MARAE OF INLAND TYPE.

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A

B

MARAE FACINGS, TAHITI: *A*, FIRST COURSE OF *AHU* FACING OF MARAE MAHAIATEA (SITE 31): *B*, CORNER OF INLAND MARAE BUILT ON A TERRACE, MARAE AT TEFAI, PAPENOO, NORTHEAST CORNER (SITE 69).

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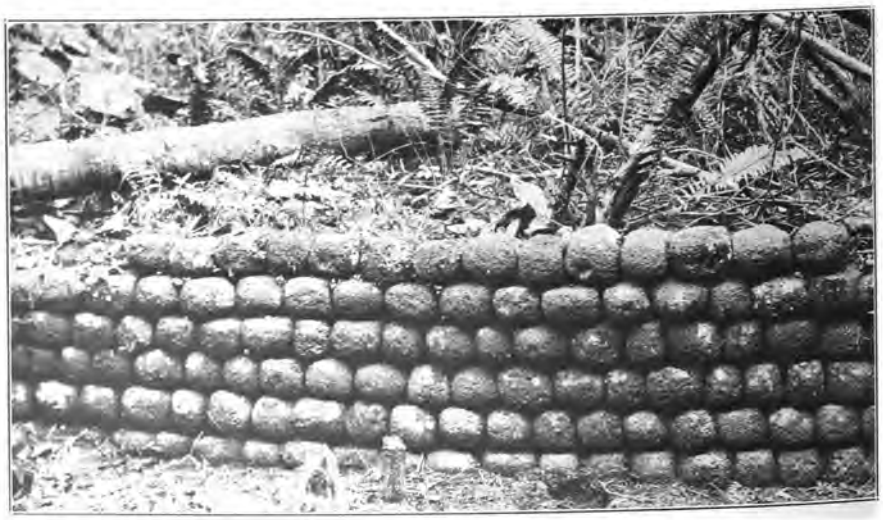
A



B

OUTER FACING OF COURT WALL OF MARAE ARAHURAHU, PAEA (SITE 29): *A*, FIRST COURSE OF CURBS AND UPPER COURSES OF ROUND-FACED STONES, NORTH WALL; *B*, UPPER COURSES OF SOUTH WALL (FIRST COURSE BURIED).

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A

B

C

MARAE FEATURES: *A*, LIMESTONE SLAB BACKREST (*TUTURIRAA*) AT MARAE MATAIREARAHI, HUAHINE (SITE 133); *B*, BASALT BACKREST, 19 INCHES HIGH, ON COURT OF MARAE TETII, MOOREA (SITE 93; FIG. 66, NO. 7); *C*, SOUTH CORNER OF COURT WALL OF MARAE AT POAIROA, MOOREA (SITE 83).

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A

B

MARAE FACINGS, MEETIA: *A*, OUTER FACE OF EAST COURT WALL OF MARAE AT TEMATOMATO (SITE 105) SHOWING TOP COURSE OF SEA-WORN BOULDERS; *B*, FACING OF SECOND STEP, AND FIRST COURSE OF UPPERMOST STEP OF *AHU* OF MARAE AT SITE 104.

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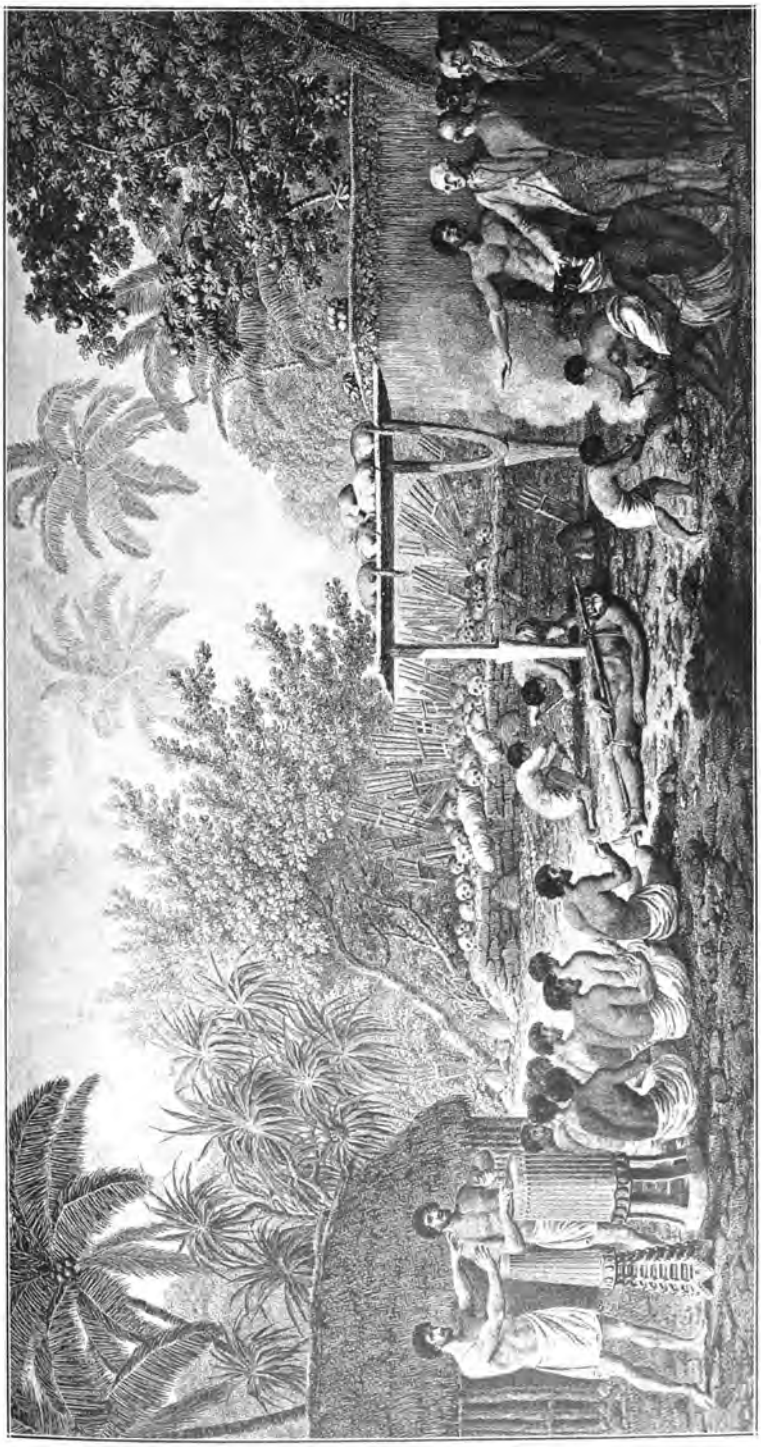

CAPTAIN COOK AT MARAE OF POMARE I, IN 1777; PROBABLY THE PLATFORM IN FRONT OF MARAE MARAE-TAATA, PAEA (SITE 20). DRAWN BY WEBBER.

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A

B

A, MARAE (TAHUEA?) IN THE VICINITY OF FARE, HUAHINE; PRIEST IS FACING *AHU* ALONG BACK OF WHICH RISE CARVED *UNU* BOARDS; RAISED HOUSE OF THE GOD ON LEFT. DRAWN BY WEBBER IN 1777. *B*, MARAE TAHITI, NORTH SIDE OF PUNARUU VALLEY, TAHITI (SITE 15); *AHU* (ITS ROUGHNESS EXAGGERATED) MARKED BY THE ROW OF CARVED *UNU*. DRAWN BY CAPT. WILSON IN 1797.

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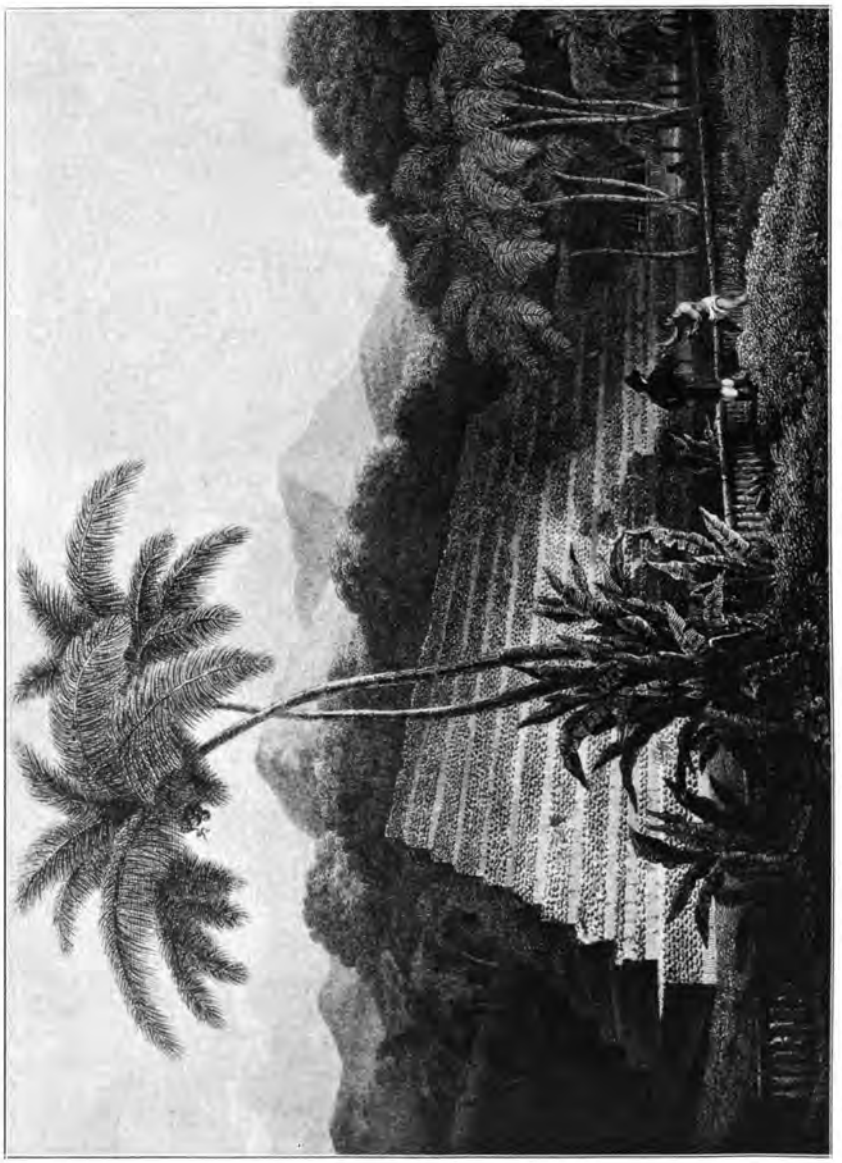

MARAE MAHAIATEA, PAPARA, TAHITI (SITE 31); WOODEN FENCE PUT IN BY THE ENGRAVER AND STONE WALL ENCLOSING THE COURT OMITTED. DRAWN BY CAPT. WILSON IN 1797.

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A

B

MARAE FARE MIRO, AT TIIPOTO, HUAHINE (SITE 157): *A*, NORTH END OF EAST FACE OF *AHU*; *B*, NORTH END AND WEST FACE OF *AHU*.

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A

B

MARAE FARE MIRO, AT TIIPOTO, HUAHINE (SITE 157): *A, AHU* ON PAVED PLATFORM PROJECTING ONTO ARM OF THE LAGOON, VIEWED FROM NORTHWEST; *B.* SOUTH END OF EAST FACE OF *AHU,* SHOWING FILL OF CORAL RUBBLE.

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A

B

MARAE FEATURES: *A*, FACING SLABS OF COURT FACE OF MARAE TAINUU, TEVAITOA, RAIATEA (SITE 200), GIRL STANDS BESIDE A LIMESTONE SLAB 13 FEET HIGH; *B*, SACRED STONE OF ROYAL INVESTITURE AT HAUVIRI MARAE, ADJOINING TAPUTAPUATEA MARAE, OPOA.

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A

B

MARAES OF HUAHINE: *A*, MARAE MANUNU (SITE 132), NORTHWEST CORNER OF *AHU* OF TWO PLATFORMS, CORNER 10 FEET HIGH; *B*, MARAE ANINI (SITE 182), COURT FACE OF *AHU* OF TWO PLATFORMS AT NORTH END.

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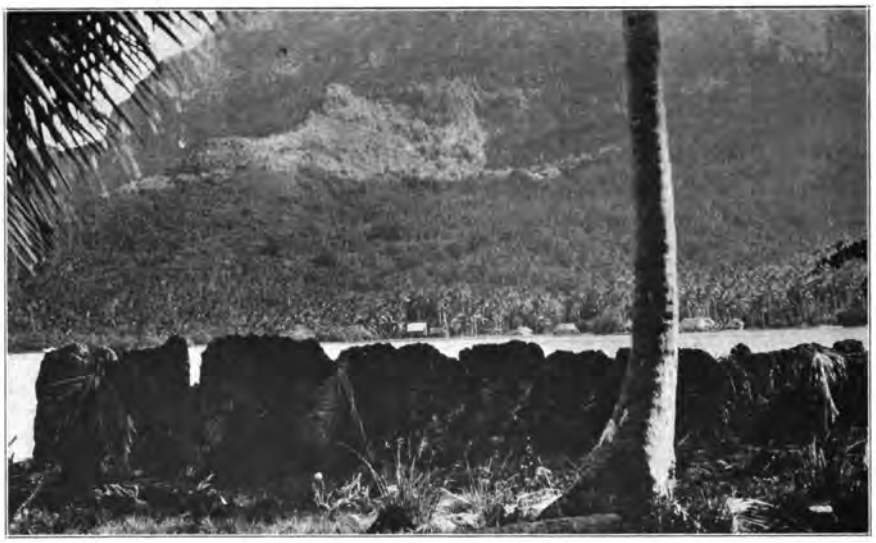
A



B

MARAE FEATURES: *A*, CORNER OF COURT ENCLOSING WALL OF MARAE MATAIREARAHI AT MAEVA, HUAHINE, SHOWING BACKREST SET ON WALL (SITE 133), VIEW FROM WEST; *B*, *AHU* OF MARAE TEMARUTEAOA, ANAU, BORABORA (SITE 234), VIEW FROM NORTHWEST.

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A

B

MARAE TAUMARIARI, AT HIRIVARI, OPOA (SITE 189): *A*, SOUTH END OF PAVEMENT OF FLAGS; *B*, FACING OF EAST SIDE OF PLATFORM NEAR THE LARGEST UPRIGHT, WHICH STANDS IN BACKGROUND.

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A

B

STONE STRUCTURES: *A*, POST-EUROPEAN TOMB OF A CHIEF, CONSTRUCTED WITH SLABS FROM A MARAE CALLED FARE-UPAUPA, AT PAIHO POINT, TAHAA; *B*, STONE SEATS ALONG NORTHEAST SIDE OF COUNCIL PLATFORM AT MAEVA, HUAHINE (SITE 128, SLABS 1 AND 2, FIG. 86).

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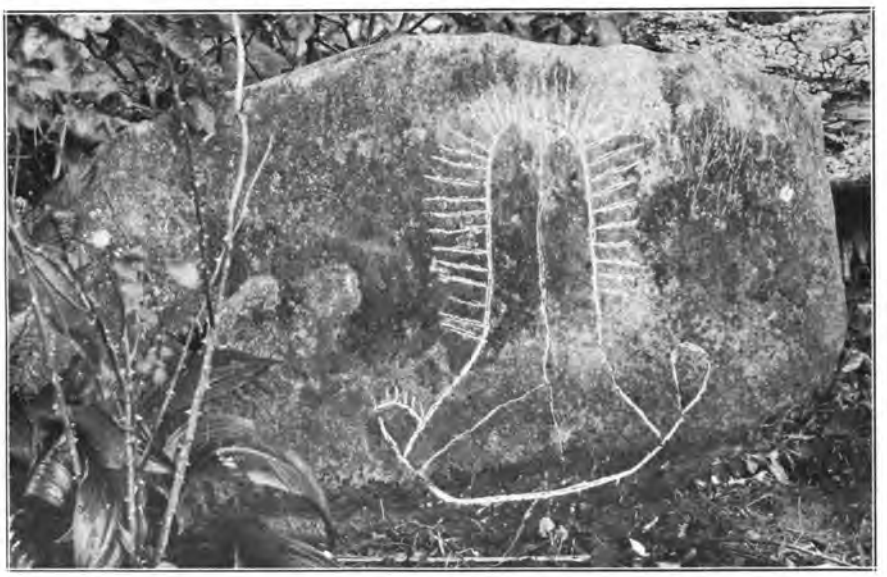
A



B

PETROGLYPHS: *A*, ROCK IN STREAM BED, TIPAERUI, TAHITI; *B*, REPRESENTATION OF HEADDRESS OF MOURNER'S COSTUME, CARVING 25 INCHES HIGH, ON CORNERSTONE OF CHIEF'S HOUSE PLATFORM AT TEVAITOA, RAIATEA.

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A

B

BORABORA PETROGLYPHS: *A*, TURTLE PETROGLYPHS (FIG. 130, *D*) ON COURT FACE OF THE *AHU* OF MARAE FAREOPU (SITE 223); *B*, *OFAI HONU* (TURTLE STONE).

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